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EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT

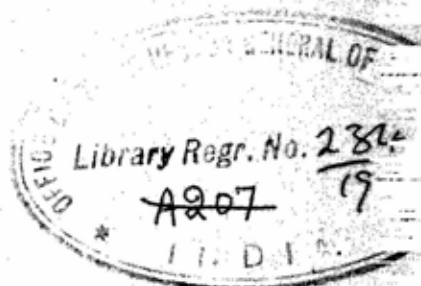
1894-1895

COMPRISING THE WORK OF THE
EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND AND THE PROGRESS OF
EGYPTOLOGY DURING THE YEAR 1894-5.

37081

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F. LL. GRIFFITH.



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, PLANS, AND MAPS.

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CONTENTS.

PREFACE	PAGE vii
-------------------	-------------

I. EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

A.—REPORT ON PROSPECTS OF RESEARCH IN ALEXANDRIA, WITH NOTE ON EXCAVATIONS IN ALEXANDRIAN CEMETERIES D. G. HOGARTH AND E. F. BENSON	1
--	---

B.—EXCAVATIONS AT DEIR EL BAHARI . . .	E. NAVILLE 38
--	---------------

II. PROGRESS OF EGYPTOLOGY.

A.—HIEROGLYPHIC STUDIES, ETC. . . .	F. LL. GRIFFITH 38
B.—GRECO-ROMAN EGYPT	F. G. KENYON 50
C.—COPTIC STUDIES	W. E. CRUM 57

ILLUSTRATIONS.

MAP OF ALEXANDRIA.

PLAN OF TEMPLE OF DEIR EL BAHARI.

PL. I. DEIR EL BAHARI. General View from the South-east.

PL. II. „ Coptic Mummies.

MAPS OF EGYPT (I.—V.).

PREFACE.

IN the present issue, the principal place is taken by Mr. Hogarth's Report on his Excavations at Alexandria, with Mr. Benson's note thereto. The map which illustrates these has been drawn by Mr. F. W. Green, from a sketch by Mr. Hogarth. As no further record of these excavations will be published, this report is of special value. It is followed by M. Naville's account of the latest results of the excavation in the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari. This temple is now almost completely cleared.

One section of the Society's work, the Archæological Survey, is not represented by any special report. A few words may therefore be said in this place. The Survey must still proceed with a close regard to economy. In England our work has consisted in issuing two volumes of "El Bersheh," and in preparing for the publication of a series of coloured facsimiles of hieroglyphs and details from the scenes at Beni Hasan. In order to complete certain sections of these subjects, Messrs. Carter and Brown spent three weeks at the tombs on their return journey from Deir el Bahari. We do not lose

sight of the main object of the Survey, and we hope that funds will gradually accumulate, and enable us to send out another expedition and push the work more actively; but meanwhile the collection and publication of coloured facsimiles can be carried on at a comparatively small cost, and promise to lead to remarkable results.

Under the head of Progress in Egyptology, the thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Crum for excellent contributions on the publication of Greek and Coptic texts during the past year.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

THE reader will find the details of Alexandrian topography in Neroutzos' "*L'ancienne Alexandrie*," and better still in G. Lumbroso's "*L'Egitto al tempo dei greci e dei romani*," especially in those chapters devoted to the Pseudo-Callisthenes and to Strabo. Almost the last word is said there, which can be said without excavation. Signor Botti's latest Report has come to hand, announcing the results of his research in the region of Pompey's Pillar. Unfortunately they cannot be regarded yet as fixing the site of the Serapeum much more certainly than had been done before, nor as making much clearer or more satisfactory the vexed "*Description*" of Aphthonius, noticed long ago by Lumbroso and others.



I.—EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

A.—REPORT ON PROSPECTS OF RESEARCH IN ALEXANDRIA.

(See Map.)

THERE is no ancient site on the Mediterranean, the prospect of whose exploration seems to stimulate more recurrent curiosity than Alexandria; there is hardly one that has been less systematically explored. The perusal of Neroutzos' "*L'ancienne Alexandrie*" is sufficient to inform the reader how little research had been prosecuted up to 1885. No one except Mahmud Bey, court astronomer of the Khedive Ismail, commissioned to make a map for the history of Julius Cæsar, by Napoleon III., had worked with any wider purpose than to find buried treasure. Schliemann had nibbled at the fringe of the site in May and June, 1887, and quickly abandoned his borings, discouraged by early ill-success and the disfavour shown to him by the natives. Since 1885, successive Directors of the Service of Antiquities have made tentative explorations, mainly about the Attarin quarter, but no one has persevered long, or, so far as I know, published any detailed account of what he did or found.

It was left, therefore, to Sig. G. Botti, on his appointment in 1891 as Director of the Græco-Roman Museum, newly-established in the town, to undertake anything like a systematic search for the remains of the great city which occupied the site, and more than the site, of modern Alexandria. Having the advantage of permanent residence, he was able to project a scheme for sinking test shafts in all the *ilots* into which the ancient city was divided by its rectangular streets, as laid down by Mahmud Bey.¹ Want of funds and vacant spaces has retarded the

¹ I have my doubts, as I shall state later on, as to the soundness of Mahmud Bey's map. In any case we know Alexandria to have been laid out on a rectangular plan (Diod. Sic. xvii. 52); and for Dr. Botti's purpose, namely, "quartering" the ground, one kind of chessboard served as well as another.

execution of this excellent project, but some progress has been made and certain negative results at least obtained upon the north-eastern and eastern portions of the ancient city. I shall have frequent occasion later to speak of Sig. Botti's work.

As a result of the stimulus given to exploration by the scheme above mentioned a local archaeological society was formed, the members being drawn from all nationalities; and in 1893 a communication reached the Hellenic Society of London, asking for a grant-in-aid. Being at that time under orders to proceed to Egypt on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, I was asked by the Committee of the Hellenic Society to report on the matter. I did so in April, 1894, and a small grant was made subsequently from the funds of the Society. The main result of my visit, however, had been to inform me how much uncertainty hung still over Alexandrian topography, and how little was known definitely either as to the existence of buried art treasures or the feasibility of recovering them; and therefore, in the course of the summer of 1894, I recommended to both the Egypt Exploration Fund and the Hellenic Society that it was advisable to expend a small sum in testing the site. Backed by these two societies, I came accordingly to Alexandria in the middle of February, 1895, and with the co-operation of Messrs. E. F. Benson and E. R. Bevan, of the British Archaeological School at Athens, conducted excavations for more than two months. My two coadjutors were concerned mainly with the trials which we made in the eastern cemeteries (*v. infra* for their Report), which are in the main on Government land. I personally looked after the soundings in the town itself. For driving galleries under the mound of Fort Kom el Dikk, General Sir Forestier Walker had most kindly placed sappers at my disposal; and for this favour and help which I received in carrying out this part of the work I have to thank him and the other military authorities. My requests for leave to sink shafts in the town were met everywhere with ready acquiescence, and especially I have to thank Baron J. de Menasce, the brothers de Zogheb, and Messieurs Pandeli Salvago and Poilay Bey, the manager of the Daira Toussoun. Mr. Reeves, of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, and Mr. Goussio, of the Anglo-Egyptian, did me great service in smoothing my way, and Signor Botti in giving me information about localities. The Societies, which I represented, owe to them all gratitude, and not less to Sir Charles Cookson, K.C.M.G., C.B., and to Rear-Admiral and Mrs. Blomfield, who helped me much with the preliminary negotiations and while the work was in progress. The portable objects found were given, so far as I had a right to give them, to the local

Museum, in accordance with the understanding arrived at with M. de Morgan. Unhappily, they cannot be said to have added materially to its treasures!

Before the different quarters are considered in detail, let me state an obvious consideration which affects the question of excavating in Alexandria, as compared with other possible sites.

Natural conditions—the sea, the desert, and the Lake Mareotis—confine the inhabitants of modern Alexandria to much the same area as they occupied in the days of the Roman Empire. It is true that the present port-town stands mainly on ground which has been gained from the sea since the construction of Soter's great mole, the *Heptastadium*, but such gain is balanced by the loss of the old coast strip round the east of the Great Harbour, which, together with the island of Antirrhodus and most of that of Pharos, has subsided beneath the waves. The modern city has also a population considerably less numerous than the ancient,¹ and on the eastern side fails to fill out its old limits; but on the western it extends out to or even beyond the former confines, and has made sufficient progress eastwards in the last twenty years to have covered more than the *centre* of the Ptolemaic city. So far as we can fix the topography of the latter, all its greatest buildings and monuments stood within the area covered now either by the inhabited quarters of Alexandria, or by the encroaching waves. It is true that much of the modern city is of very recent growth and not yet closely built, and, like all Oriental towns, includes a good deal of garden ground, but its open spaces are not really large; they are private property; they have an ever-increasing value, being situated within an ever-growing city; they are destined in many instances for building lots, and their ultimate fitness to fulfil their destiny is not increased by the disturbance of the soil or the extraction of the stones.

In my project of sinking experimental shafts within the inhabited area, I was met more than half way (as I have said already) by several owners of land; but naturally the latter stipulated for the refilling of my soundings; the proximity of houses rendered it generally impossible to continue far in any direction, and one had to work in a general atmosphere of confinement and sufferance, which felt irksome indeed after the freedom of the desert.

¹ Diodorus (xvii. 52) gives over 300,000 as the population in his day, i.e. end of the 1st century B.C. Now it is under 250,000.

For the sake of clearness it will be best to take the site in two parts, divided by the line of the modern Boulevard de Rosette, produced on the west to the convent of the Franciscan Sisters (anciently the Mosque of the Thousand-and-One Columns), and on the east along the Ramleh *chaussée* to Hadra. In the northernmost of these divisions fall the sites of all the monuments about the ancient Port, whose positions relative to one another are assured by Strabo's description of the *coup d'œil* presented in his day to one entering the Great Harbour. In the southernmost division, or at least on the southern fringe of the northern division, will be found the sites of the inland monuments, whose positions are to be conjectured by reference to the known sites about the Port, checked by a few indications obtained here and there from literary sources or discovered remains.

It is intended that this should be not an Essay on the topography of ancient Alexandria, but a Report on the feasibility and comparative utility of prosecuting research there; and it is addressed not to those who have a local interest in the site, but to foreign societies. Consequently I say nothing of such buildings as the ancient Walls, Gates, and Quays, nor again of the lesser monuments, once or twice obscurely mentioned, such as the Paneum, the Rotunda of Eutycheion, the Tetrastylon, or a score of others. No foreign society, which can find almost virgin sites, could be invited to search in Alexandria for obscure Græco-Roman ruins or bare topographical indications.

A.—NORTH OF THE BOULEVARD DE ROSETTE.

STRABO (p. 794) begins with the Lochias promontory, and we may take its modern representative, the *Pharillon*, as our eastern limit; for we know of no building of importance situated beyond it and within the old *enceinte*. The eastern limit of the latter corresponds nearly to the "French lines" thrown up in 1805.

The Palaces.

The *Lochias*, on which stood a Palace, perhaps that of Alexander himself,¹ is now for the most part under the sea. The shoal rocks, marked

¹ Diod. Sic. xvii. 52.

on the charts off the Pharillon, together with the rock of the Pharillon itself, and the half submerged isthmus which connects it with the dis-used Fort, represent the old promontory; and all that is left of the Palace appears to be a single foundation course of fine masonry let into the rock on the western side of the isthmus, at about the present mean tide level.

Strabo mentions as next in view τὰ ἐνδοτέρω βασιλεια, with their sumptuous grounds. Below these Palaces was situated a small private harbour, excavated in the beach and capable of being closed; and off it lay the island of Antirrhodus, with a Palace and harbour of its own.

I take it as certain that the latter island is represented now only by shoals; and if the island and all on it have vanished, it need hardly be said that the Private Port is no longer to be seen. A visit, however, to the beach below the old Quarantine Station and the Tannery, will convince anyone that the sea has swallowed also a mass of constructions once situated on *terra firma*. From the Lochias, right round to the *Tour Romaine* (near the Ramleh railway company's station), the cliff (which is a mere conglomeration of potsherds, refuse, and *débris* of construction) shows everywhere vertical sections of walls in brick and stone, and horizontal lines of concrete or brick pavement. In the water itself are to be seen long white lines of masonry, sea-worn and flush with the sand; these have been taken for remains of the *Quays*, but in all probability they are merely the lowest courses of large walls, perhaps of the Palaces, which the waves have beaten down or sucked away. When the sea is calm and clear, columns, capitals, mouldings and squared blocks may be seen lying pell-mell on the bottom for some distance out below low water mark.¹

It is most probable, therefore, that the Palaces, which lined the shore in Strabo's time, have disappeared beneath the encroaching waves, and their remains are to be sought only with the dredger. They had, however, large grounds (Strabo, *loc. cit. supra*) and, doubtless, many appurtenances; and their domain must have extended back from the sea as a long strip between the Jews' Quarter, huddled under the eastern wall,² and the Theatre. The latter is represented nowadays probably by the Hospital hill; the former by the high ground of Chatby about the French lines. The Palace domain, therefore, must include the low-lying

¹ The fact of a subsidence of the coast of the Delta having taken place in comparatively recent times is, I believe, not questioned by geologists.

² Cf. Philo in Flaccum, p. 525.

ground between these points, occupied now in part by cemeteries, by the village of El Maritza, and by the canal, but in part still open; and the domain must have extended at least as far as the Saracenic fosse and wall, if not up to the line of the Canopic Street.

This region, although one of the most open in Alexandria, does not promise well for excavation. As to its northern part the cliff gives us sufficient indications; for the escarpment displays down to the sea-level coarse structures of a later period than the Ptolemaic. We appear to have now in this region the ruins of a Roman residential quarter which grew up behind the Palaces in what was once their grounds. A glance at the escarpment will show that imported earth full of coarse pottery and stones descends right to sea water, and as the level of fresh water is higher than that of the salt, an excavator would find himself in mud ere he had penetrated the Roman *strata*. As a matter of fact many soundings have been made in the open ground between El Maritza and the Hospital, and, in consequence of these, fragments of syenite lie near the Ramleh railway line; indeed, last May Dr. Botti found a number of terra cotta fragments near the summit of the hill on the east slope; but I have been unable to discover that any walls in a decent state of preservation, or any antiques of value have ever been discovered there.

As to the southern part of this region, now covered in the main with the Greek houses and gardens on the north side of the Boulevard de Rosette, and intersected by the mediæval fosse, I can speak from experiment. Knowing that during the building of the house of Baron J. de Menasce, a large granite column had been found, although alone and at no great depth, and that some large structure, either the Gymnasium,¹ or an inland Palace, was to be expected hard by along the line of the Canopic Street, I looked for a site for a sounding in this direction; and, by the great kindness of Mons. Pandeli Salvago, was permitted to dig in the plot which intervenes between his brother's house and the Boulevard, and was occupied at the time of my visit only by a ruined Arab house.

I began with a pit 8·50 m. from N. to S. and 6·50 m. E. to W. on the east side of the house, at a distance of 125 feet from the fence on the side of the Boulevard de Rosette, and 27 feet from the fence of the plot on

¹ The Gymnasium has been placed about here by most topographers, but on no better evidence than the single statement of Strabo that the Canopic Street led from Necropolis *παρὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον μέχρι τῆς πύλης τῆς κανωβικῆς* (p. 795). On which side of the street was it then, and at what point of the three and a half miles (forty stades according to Diodorus, thirty according to Josephus B. J. ii. 4, Strabo, p. 793) of its course?

the east. The surface earth was very dry and loose; at the north end of the pit we found, at 8 ft. depth, one course of a wall one stone thick, resting on earth. Descending further we found very little pottery or loose stones, some fragments of marble-paving, Syrian or Italian, but no trace of industrial occupation of the site. At 11 feet we hit the top of a large wall made of small stones, very strongly welded together with mortar containing sand and brick-dust. Clearing away still deeper, I found this wall to be 8 feet 6 inches across from face to face. Of its elevation roughly 4 feet survived, and it ran at an angle of 340 deg. Eventually we uncovered a length of 17 ft. on the south side of the pit: then occurred a break, after which a fragment continued, whose western face had been stripped to a depth of 3 feet. A much ruined wall, originally at least 6 feet thick, returned eastwards, starting from the break in the first wall; but so many of its stones had been abstracted that it was hard to say where its true faces had been, and it presented, when found, the appearance of a rude stair. In order to investigate west of the big wall we found it necessary to enlarge the pit, and in so doing cut through two layers of very coarse concrete at 5½ and 8 feet below the surface, and found two rough walls resting on loose earth, running 2 feet apart westwards from the line of the big wall. They seem to have been built much later than the latter, outside of which on the west we found a coarse bed of concrete 3 inches thick, and below it a deep drain constructed of small stones, running west. In the drain was discovered a rude unglazed *ampulla* of a type common in Alexandria, bearing stamped on the one side ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ round a cross, and on the other the saint (Menas) standing between two animals, apparently kneeling camels. In the *débris* near the wall were found an egg-shaped bead of speckled diorite, a very coarse lamp, some fragments of bone handles, and a seated statuette in late and coarse blue-glazed ware, perished almost beyond recognition.

Having cut the concrete, I dug down 15 feet more through rough stones and loose earth, finding no traces of construction (other than the foundation courses of the big wall above) nor any antiquities. The level of fresh water was reached exactly 30 feet below the surface, and after persevering 2 feet more into the mud I desisted, and, according to the terms of my contract with M. Salvago, had the pit filled in again. Subsequently I had a small second pit sunk at 20 feet from the Boulevard de Rosette on the line of the big wall found already. The wall was found here also in the same state of ruin; and this latter pit yielded no antiquities or further indications.

The results may be summarized thus: a massive structure, probably (to judge from its mortar) of Roman date, exists here just north of the line of the Canopic Street, but whether part of the Gymnasium or a Palace there is absolutely nothing to show, but at any rate apparently not put to any industrial use. The existence of a Christian object in its drain proves late occupation. There is no trace of any older structure beneath; and the ruinous condition of the walls, and the absence of antiquities among the *débris*, indicate that the Roman building has been thoroughly stripped. This latter fact, taken together with the poor quality of the concrete flooring, should deter anyone from exploring farther this particular site.

A short distance to the north-west of this plot of land, pits were being sunk for the foundations of a house, to be built for Mr. E. W. P. Foster; and from an examination of these I learned that loose earth and stones descended at that point to the fresh water level (35 feet) without containing a trace of any important structure. Still further north, the city fosse has been cut to a depth of about 15 feet, and now shows no indications of having pierced large buildings. From this point to the sea stretches much open land, on which some day something may possibly be found somewhere; but the chances of anything of early date or good condition existing between the late ruins found by me, and the late ruins revealed by the escarpment of the cliff, are so small, and the chances against any one spot more than another proving productive are so many, that no one could be recommended to select this region of the Palaces as a field for excavation.

West of the domain of the Palaces lay a group of large buildings. So far as we can gather from a comparison of Strabo with other authorities, on the foreshore itself was situated the *Poseideion*, apparently used at a later period as a Tribunal (Acts and Eulogy of S. Macrobios—the governor, before whom the saint appears, sits in his Tribunal at a place called *Poseidon* on the sea-shore); and in front of this temple, on an artificial peninsula, was Antony's "*Timonium*." Immediately adjoining the *Poseideion* on the west must have been the *Emporium*, for Strabo says that the former was ἀγκών τις . . . προπεπτακός of the latter; and west again of this were the *Apostases*, or Magazines, and the Docks, extending as far as the great Mole, or *Heptastadium*, which connected the mainland with the Pharos. Inland, immediately behind the *Poseideion* (for it is mentioned by Strabo as *above* Antirrholdas), was the *Theatre*. The latter was connected with the nearest of the

Palaces (Cæsar, Comment. iii. 112),¹ and used by Cæsar as a citadel, commanding approaches to the port and docks during that period when the Alexandrian mob were bringing to the direst straits the master of the Roman world.

Before mentioning the Emporium (except in relation to the Poseideion) Cæsareum Strabo alludes to the *Cæsareum*. Philo (Leg. ad Caium 22), also describes the latter as showing magnificently from the port, and Pliny (N. H. 36, 14) says that two obelisks stood *ad portum in Cæsaris templo*. The Cæsareum was therefore quite near the sea; but it seems to me that Strabo's words in connection with the Poseideion imply that the Emporium extended continuously from the latter to the Apostases, and therefore *in front* of the Cæsareum. Vicinity to the port and pre-eminence above low buildings on the foreshore are all that a reasonable interpretation of the words of Pliny and Philo demands.

If correct, this conclusion has an important bearing on the question of the subsidence along the foreshore. The situation of the Cæsareum was marked up to 1878 beyond all reasonable doubt by a still standing obelisk, whose site is now close to the beach and fifteen years ago was closer still, for much material has been tipped into the sea behind the Ramleh Boulevard to secure the site of the new houses built since the events of 1882. The Emporium, therefore, must have been absorbed by the waves at this point; and, if so, there can be little or no doubt that the Poseideion and Timonium have suffered the same fate.

A foreign Society, however, could hardly be expected to devote its funds to exploring the Poseideion, or Timonium, or, indeed, the Theatre of Alexandria, so that we may pass to the consideration of the *Cæsareum*, remarking merely in passing that no certain trace of any one of the three first mentioned has ever been found. The site of the Theatre should be on or about the high ground occupied by the new Hospital; for probably it was elevated, if used as a citadel, and it must have been quite contiguous to the Quarter of the Palaces; but Signor Botti failed to find in the pits which he dug in 1894 on the north-west and north-east of the Hospital hill any decisive indications. At some later period a church seems to have been built on this site. Possibly it would be better to

¹ *Pars erat regiae exigua in quam ipse habitandi causa initio erat inductus, et theatrum conjunctum domui quod arcis tenebat locum aditusque habebat ad portum et ad reliqua navalia.* I see no reason to doubt that the main Theatre is intended here: only a very massive building could have been so used by Cæsar. The use to which he put it has often been paralleled since his time, e.g. in the case of the Theatres at Orange, and of Herodes Atticus at Athens; and of amphitheatres almost wherever they still exist.

search for the Theatre still nearer to the present sea-beach. The site of the Poseideion is probably occupied partly by the martello-tower which now stands on a projecting point: the site of the Timonium is in the sea.

The remains of the Cæsareum, afterwards a Patriarchal Church,¹ and not finally destroyed till 912 A.D., have been sought often, and lately most industriously by Signor Botti. The general locality is fixed, indeed, by the site of the obelisks, but as it is not known whether these stood north, south, east, or west of the Temple, we cannot say whether the actual shrine is to be sought in the sea or in which direction on the land. Neroutzos tried to determine the axis from a massive but much ruined wall found in 1874 in digging the foundations of the house *Zahir Debbane*, on the Boulevard de Ramleh: this ran N.N.W. to S.S.E. A stele dedicated by naval decurions of the time of the co-Emperor Lucius Verus was discovered at the same spot and date. I have been informed also that large granite columns have been revealed in digging foundations a little west of the British Consulate, and on the same side of the street. In 1892 dredging was tried by Signor Botti in the sea just in front of the site of the Needles, and large inscribed granite blocks, some bearing cartouches of Rameses II., were recovered; these the discoverer suggests may have been built into the Pylon of the Cæsareum. In 1893 he tried again, and found other similar blocks, imported from a temple of Ptah at Tanis, also caps, drums, vases, an inscription of Caracalla, and a fine capital of the Patriarchal Church. Neither the bottom of the sea, however, nor land under houses can be recommended for excavation, except where the precise locality of a treasure is known. The only land in this vicinity still really open for tentative operations is that lying immediately south of the Ramleh station. In 1893, Signor Botti sank four soundings in various parts of this open space, finding water at 6 to 6½ metres, but nothing above it except unimportant ruins, Byzantine tombs, and traces of industrial occupation. He concluded, probably justly, that the open ground lies outside the area of the Cæsareum altogether, and that, though the *peribolus* of the latter may have extended up to or even beyond the Boulevard de Ramleh, the main part of the Temple site is now in the sea.

In any case there are too many buildings in the vicinity for any serious excavation to be made: and even were this not the case, I doubt if much could be expected, where soundings have revealed so far only the merest

¹ Cf. St. Epiphanius In Haer. ii. 2, p. 728, for a list of the churches in Alexandria, existing in his day beside *τῇ νῦν κτισθείσῃ τῇ Καισαρείᾳ καλουμένῃ*.

foundation courses of masonry, and in the case of a building so long occupied and so often ruined as the Cæsareum. Begun by Cleopatra as a monument to Antony, and finished and dedicated by Augustus,¹ it suffered at least four sackings and burnings at the hands of Christians, pagans, and Moslems. There can be little enough surviving of the splendours of the imperial fane, which Philo painted in such glowing terms for the edification of Caligula.

Any remains that may exist of the *Emporium*, the *Apostases*, the *Navalia*, the *Heptastadium*, the buildings on the *Pharos island* or round the *Eunostus Harbour* (i.e. the present port), are either under the sea or beneath occupied land.² They cannot be explored, and are probably not in the least worth exploring. As is well known, the present foreshore on the west of the former Great Harbour and on the east of the Port, now in use, is of modern formation, being conglomerated partly of silt, which has been banked up naturally on both sides of the Heptastadium,³ partly by material thrown out recently in front of the Ramleh Boulevard. The northernmost part of the Ras el Tin quarter stands on as much of the old Pharos island as the sea has spared: but the rest of that quarter, with the whole of the Marina, is built upon new ground. The line of the ancient Quays runs off from the present foreshore on a level with the western end of the Boulevard de Ramleh, and, cutting across the upper end of the Place des Consuls, passes before the Hôtel Abbat, and from there runs to the Convent of the Franciscan Sisters.

Therefore we may reckon as out of our account altogether all north and west of this line. The great Place des Consuls and all to the right and left and below it have no interest for the excavator; while immediately above the Place, extending up to the alignment of the western part of the Boulevard de Rosette, lies now the Frank business quarter, closely built over and, therefore, equally out of the sphere of practicable exploration.

In a triangular space, however, of which the Rue Cherif Pasha is the base, and the Boulevard de Ramleh makes one side, produced to meet the Boulevard de Rosette, which is the other side—the Quarter of the Palaces, already considered and condemned, being at the apex—there are some spaces open still, but of small extent. No ancient building of import-

¹ Said. s. v. *ἡμίεργον*.

² The twenty columns of porphyry found under the Antoniadès mansion on the Boulevard de Ramleh, 300 yards south-west of the site of the Needles, are perhaps survivals of the *Apostases*.

³ Strabo's words (p. 58) almost imply that even in his day the Heptastadium had ceased to be a mole and become an isthmus.

ance seems to have stood about here. Such edifices as the *Tetrapylon*, remains of which might be found near the Zizinia Theatre, the Palace of Hadrian¹ (of which, according to Neroutzos, some remains were found in 1880 under the new Greek Hospital), or the Temple of Saturn, later the Church of Alexander, to be sought under the neglected gardens which intervene here and there between or behind the houses, were not of sufficient moment to warrant foreign archaeologists in undertaking now a search for their ruinous remains.

The sites of the Gymnasium and Palaestra are, as I have indicated already (note, p. 6), utterly uncertain; they may be equally as well on one side or at one end of the line of the Canopic Street as the other. The former, celebrated by Strabo (p. 795) as the finest building in the city, and possessing over a stade of porticoes, was rifled it seems by the mob very early in the 1st century (Philo, de Virt. p. 565). I doubt if it would be worth the while even of local antiquarians to seek for it now. In order, however, to ascertain the depth of the deposit, and the general state of preservation of the ancient town at this point, I sank a pit in a plot belonging to Baron J. de Menasce, immediately to the west of the Zizinia Theatre, but some 170 feet back from the line of the Boulevard. Had the proprietor been willing, I should have preferred a plot lying immediately on the street front; but probably the one afforded as well as the other would have done the desired indications. My sounding was at first 17 feet \times 11½ feet, and I carried it down to 17 feet, cutting at the bottom for 6 inches into virgin yellow sand nearly as hard as rock. The surface earth was loose and full of stones and rough red pottery. At 7 feet we struck, at the west side of the pit, a very coarse but very strong Roman pavement of concrete laid on bricks, the latter resting on lime-mortar. The whole *stratum* was 1 foot 8 inches thick. On its surface was a circular depression 3 feet in diameter, evidently the bed of a column-base uprooted and removed. Digging to the west and north, I found that the concrete did not continue. Continuing to descend below its level, we hit at 12½ feet the top of a wall of small stones mortared. There were two courses of elevation 3 feet thick, and two courses also of a wall returning south, but in this case only 2 feet thick. Below these descended to the virgin earth foundation courses of little better than rubble. This structure was evidently the ruin of part of a Roman house, fragments of whose wall-stucco, red, yellow and blue, were found

¹ Is this the same as the *Gymnasium* of Hadrian, later of Licinius, mentioned by St. Epiphanius (*in haer.* ii. 2, p. 728) as converted into a church?

in the earth. On the opposite side of the pit we cut a small drain just below the level of the lowest elevation-course of the house. One or two quite modern objects (e.g. half a round shot) were found near the surface, but nothing at all at the Roman level, or below it, not even any fragments of distinctive Greek ware.

My overseer—a builder's foreman by trade—informed me that he had been engaged upon the building of several houses in Cherif Pasha Street, and other localities between the street and the point where I was working, and that, although the foundation had been sunk in all cases down to the virgin earth, no antiquities of any moment at all had ever been found. M. Alexandre de Zogheb showed me a spot just to the north-west of my pit, where a stele dedicated to *Isis Plousia*¹ was found in 1872, but assured me that in the foundations of the houses built by or for his family in that neighbourhood nothing had been turned up. The same report was given by men who had been engaged in the building of the Zizinia Theatre, and by owners of houses (e.g. M. Goussio) to the east of that edifice. Neroutzos relates the finding of Roman constructions near the Synagogue, and guesses them to be remains of Hadrian's Palace: and ruined walls, caps and shafts found in building the Municipality have been referred to the Temple of Saturn, but in neither case on any better ground than sheer conjecture. The one point established beyond doubt is the state of utter ruin in which the scanty remains of even Roman times are uniformly and everywhere on the north side of the Boulevard de Rosette.

B.—SOUTH OF THE BOULEVARD DE ROSETTE.

THIS part of the ancient site is more open. The eastern end is occupied by the vast Roman cemetery of Hadra, in which we made test-borings (*v. infra*, p. 28), and there is probably nothing better to be found there than Byzantine houses with rifled graves below them. Some fragments of Roman brick-work project from the sides of fosse, belong-

¹ Alexander himself is said to have ordered a temple *ἱεῖος Αἰγυπτίας* to be erected in the city (Arr. Anab. iii. 1). If this dedication to Isis Plousia implies the existence of a temple, it might be the Founder's own foundation, and, if so, worth seeking. But the whole vicinity is built over now,

ing evidently to a building entirely ruined. Whatever may be the topography of the rest of the site, it is certain at any rate that no monument of importance was situated so far east as this, and we may ignore therefore all the region outside the Rosetta Gate.

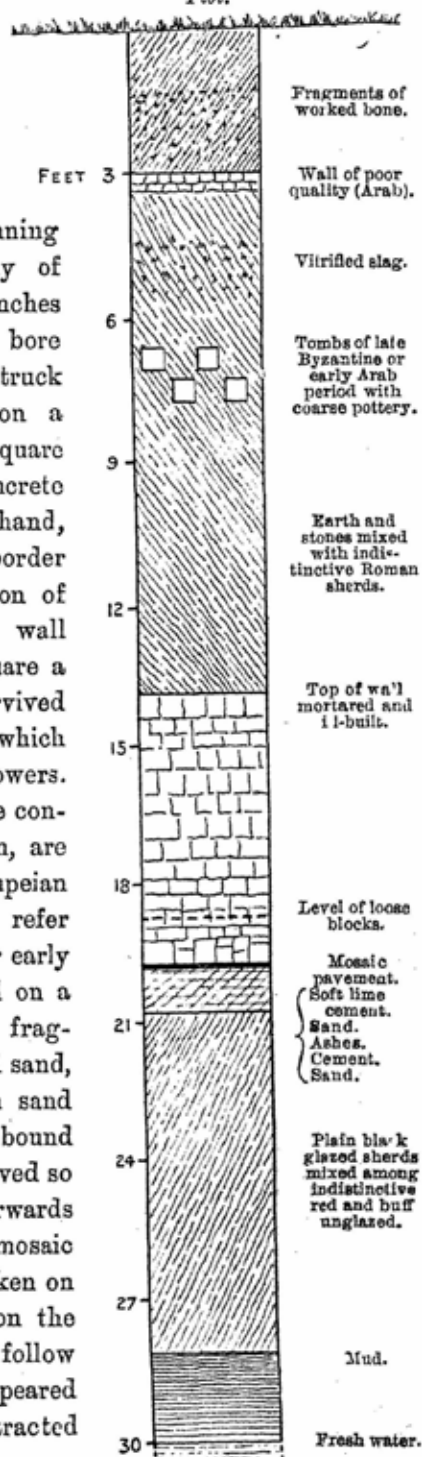
Inside the gate we find a thin strip of houses bordering the Boulevard, and behind them ground only partly enclosed, but, as we proceed eastward, rising steeply into a hillock with two summits, both apparently artificial, on one of which is situated the Reservoir and some houses, on the other Fort Kom el Dikk. In the low ground between this hill and the Boulevard there were only two plots of any size still open to me, the one very near the Gate, the other opposite to, but a little west of, the Zizinia Theatre. As the latter was near the centre of the old city I elected to make a sounding upon it, and obtained permission readily from the de Zogheb family, to whom it belongs.

A house which had occupied the site formerly was destroyed by fire some years ago, and its ruins removed. A large depression 18 feet deep exists now, where the basement had been, on the line of the Boulevard itself. I made a square pit in this depression as near the Boulevard as I could safely go. The earth was clayey and very full of stones, evidently the result of intentional filling in. At $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet down (i.e. 23 to 24 feet below the level of the street), we hit the top of a small cistern or large conduit, arched, made of small mortared stones, and once lined with cement; but the whole construction was of poor quality and in ruinous condition. Digging down 2 feet more we met with water, which came pouring in on all sides as from some leaking receptacle, and quickly flooded the pit. As the remains in the latter had proved so devoid of interest, I did not essay the probably impossible task of exhausting the water.

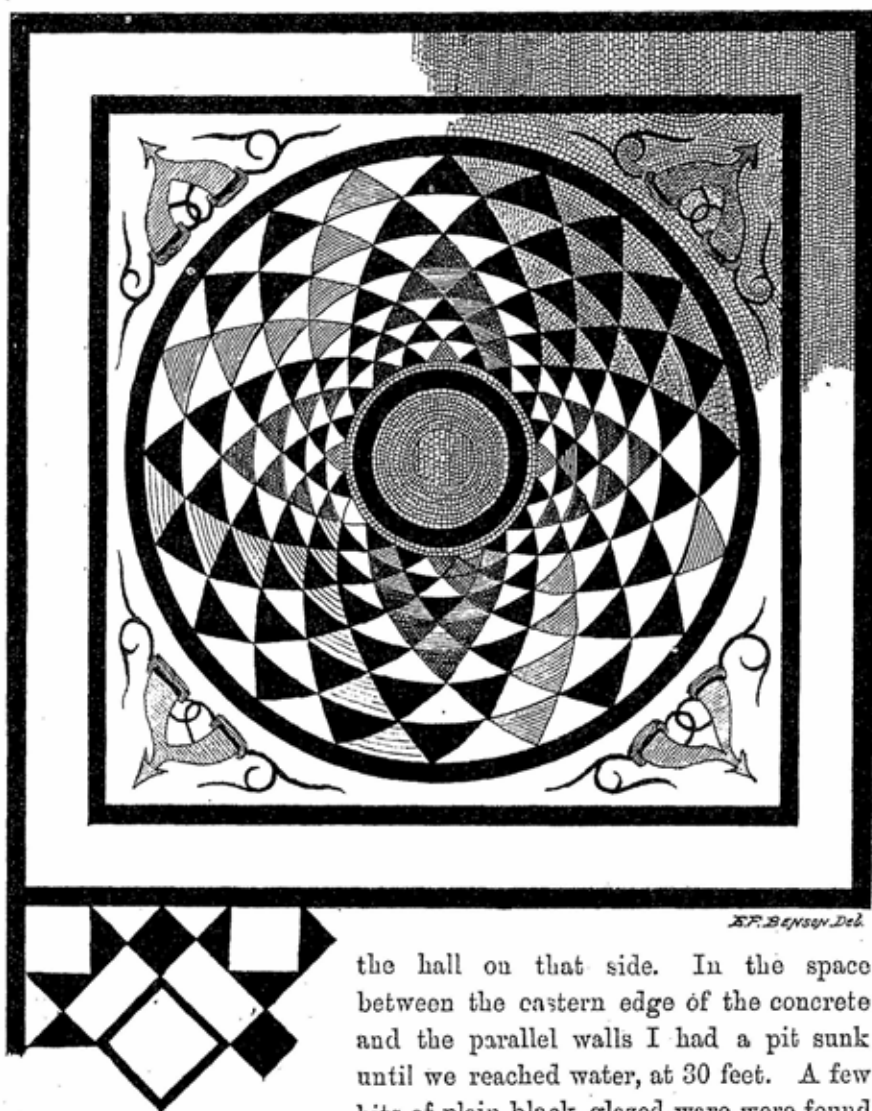
I tried next at the back of the same plot, immediately under the high wall built to retain the Fort mound. As this point is within the region where important monuments are to be expected, such as the *Soma*, the Mausolea, and the Museum, I made my pit larger than usual (31 feet \times 19 feet), so as to obtain a decisive view of the state of things underground. The upper earth was found to be full of evidences of industrial occupation of no very remote date; there were quantities of cut bone, the remains of a button manufactory, and lower down refuse of glass-works. At 3 feet a poor wall of stones, laid loosely on earth, appeared, and at $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet many poor graves, made of stones set up edgewise 1 foot 8 inches apart, and roofed with small slabs. These all contained skeletons, head to the west, but very seldom any pottery, and that of the most poverty-stricken sort. Probably the tombs date from the latest

Byzantine period, to judge from a miserable *ampulla*, stamped with the almost unrecognizable figure of a saint, found beside one of the graves. As we descended, large square blocks began to be found lying loosely, and at 14½ feet we hit the top of an indifferent wall one stone thick, running at an angle of 229°, and presently of another parallel at only 1 foot 3 inches interval. The inner faces of both bore remains of plaster. At 20 feet we struck at the western end of the hole on a pavement, composed of a mosaic square (4 feet 8 inches, *see fig.*), with a concrete of marble, porphyry, etc., on either hand, and at top and bottom a floral border 1 foot 4 inches wide. The direction of its lines is the same as that of the wall mentioned above—of the mosaic square a sketch is appended: on the north survived a fragment of a smaller panel, in which appeared a bird's head and two flowers. The quality of the material, and the conception and execution of the design, are about as good as in average Pompeian mosaic, and I should be inclined to refer this pavement to the end of the 1st or early in the 2nd century A.D. It was laid on a bed of soft lime cement mixed with fragments of brick; below this was hard sand, then ashes, then cement, and then sand again: but these layers were not bound to one another in any way, and proved so treacherous a substratum that afterwards we were quite unable to lift the mosaic upon them. The pavement was broken on the north and east, but continued on the south and west as far as we could follow it. No wall nor any column-bases appeared in the space to which the pit had contracted

Stratification of Surface Deposit on Zogheb Plot.



by this time: but on the north, fallen blocks were to be seen lying on the pavement, evidently the remains of the wall which had bounded



H.F. Benson Del.

the hall on that side. In the space between the eastern edge of the concrete and the parallel walls I had a pit sunk until we reached water, at 30 feet. A few bits of plain black glazed-ware were found below the level of the concrete, but neither below nor above were any antiquities of interest or value, nor remains of any structure in good masonry. Here again the general ruin and spoliation of the ancient buildings were established.

This conclusion was confirmed still farther by yet another pit, which I sunk about 100 yards to the west-south-west, in the north-east

corner of a large plot belonging to Prince Toussoun, immediately behind the Tribunal des Indigènes on the north, and the Consulate of France on the east. The surface of this plot had been formerly at a higher elevation, but some three to four metres of earth were sliced off it a short time ago, and first an Exhibition and then a *café-jardin* established on the levelled site. Only one foot below the new surface there is a marble pavement laid on a thick cement bed over most of the north of the plot, but its thin small slabs are probably early Arab work, and the deposit for 6 feet below at least looked like deliberate filling in to support the pavement; among it were some bits of late Roman stucco and a small limestone drum. At 11 feet a small conduit was found running north-east. At 15 feet 6 inches we hit a wall running about 314° . In thickness it was only 1 foot 8 inches, but the stones of its single course of elevation were of good size and well cut: one was 2 feet 4 inches long. We uncovered about 10 feet of this wall without meeting with a return. On the east side occurred a layer of concrete much broken. Cutting through this we went down to water at 28 feet, finding the foundations of the wall descending to that level, but no articles of any value or potsherds other than indistinctive Roman red.

It will be noted that the wall, found in this pit, is (practically speaking) at right angles with those found in the pit on the Zogheb plot. I conclude, therefore, that in this central region at least the ancient town was built very far from the lines of the modern, and that the axis of the old Canopic Street must vary much at this point from that of the Boulevard de Rosette: ¹ the former must have read about 230° , the latter reads 260° .

¹ The character of my Report being what it is, it fortunately does not enter into my province to deal at length with the researches of Mahmud Bey el Fallaki, a MS. translation of whose very rare book (*Mémoire sur l'ancienne Alexandrie, &c.*, Copenhagen, 1872), was put most kindly at my disposal by Rear-Admiral Blomfield, R.N. Anyone, however, who attempts to write a topographical memoir on the city will have to appraise, and, I think, condemn in the main, the work of Ismail's Court Astronomer. Mahmud Bey had, it is true, facilities in 1870 which exist no longer in 1895: not only was an autocratic Khédive behind him, but the site was far more open. The new Greek quarter did not exist, and there was hardly a house east of Cherif Pacha Street. Mahmud Bey had had, however, no sort of training for the work he was set to do; not only did he not know any classical language, but I am given to understand that this was his first essay in excavation. "As for his competence as an archaeologist," writes Yacub Artin Pacha in reply to a question of mine, "I do not think that he had any." I am glad, therefore, that I can avoid basing any of my own work on his. I feel the greatest uncertainty as to his rectangular map of the city—not for one moment impugning his *bona fides*, but doubting his competence to ascribe dates to the street pavements that he found, or to determine to

Kom el Dikk.

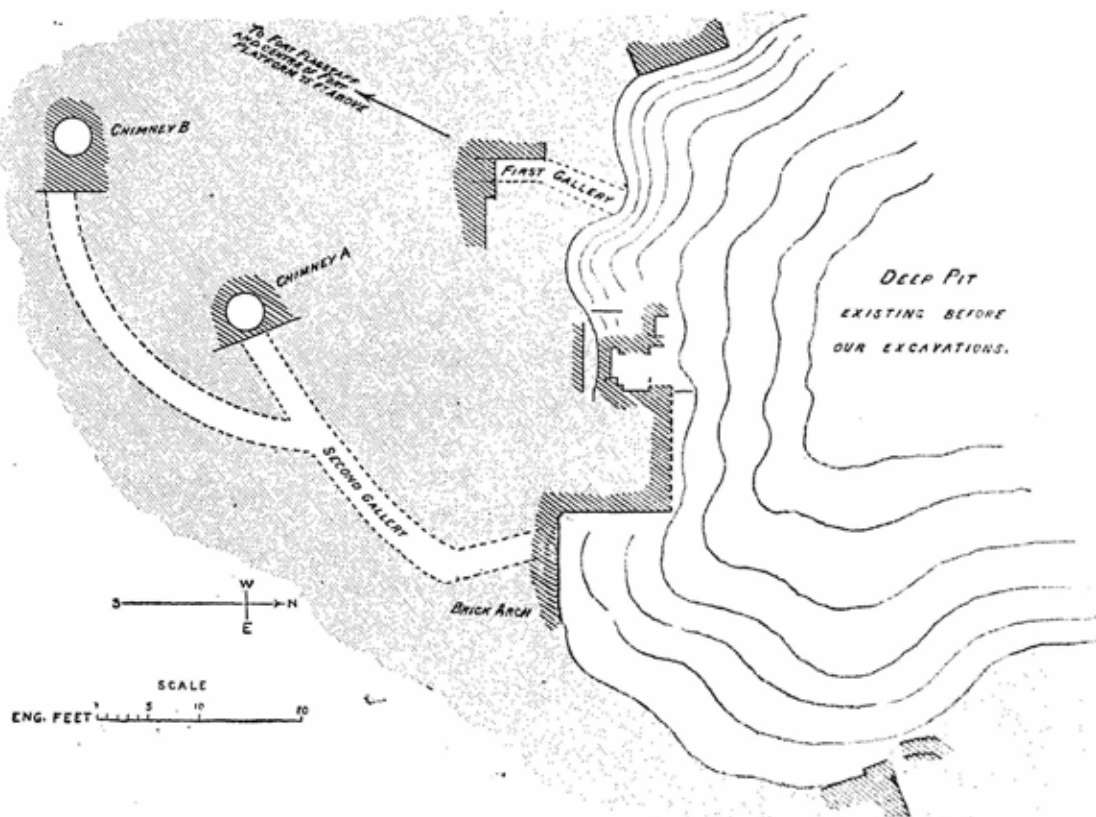
So much for the low ground south of the Boulevard. As regards the hill to the south of it, the easternmost or Reservoir summit is largely built over, and, as in all probability this is the same artificial mound which, according to Strabo, supported the obscure Paneum, it need not be considered. The western summit is crowned by the Fort once called Fort Cretin, and now Kom el Dikk: the upper part of the mound was thrown up at the same time as the construction of the fort. The lower part, though older, is evidently not very ancient, as it has been heaped up over the brick ruins, which are to be seen in the large hole which exists in the terrace behind the Fort. This hole was due in the first instance, it is said, to an accidental explosion of gunpowder, and has been deepened since by archaeological researchers. All this mound belongs to the War Department, who would, of course, not permit it to be cut away, nor any work to be undertaken which might prove prejudicial to the safety of the Fort. The only method of exploring what lies beneath it is by mining, an expensive and unsatisfactory operation when archaeological research is in question; *faute de mieux*, however, I had to resort to it, feeling that it was imperatively necessary to obtain some light on the nature of the great brick ruins on the north-eastern side, and to determine whether anything of first-rate importance is likely to exist still under the centre of the mound. To this end, therefore, I used the sappers, kindly placed at my disposal by the military authorities, and for two months ran a gallery or galleries from the east in the general direction of the centre of the Fort.

The first attempt was abortive (*First Gallery* on the plan). On March

what streets they pertained. For instance, his Canopic Street (on which all his *grille* of streets depends) lies at an angle which fits very ill with the direction of the walls found by me to the south of it; and if the pavement which he found in five spots at the extreme east of the site belongs to the Canopic Street (albeit of Byzantine date, not earlier, to judge from the depths recorded by him), that found by him opposite the Attarin mosque must belong, I fancy, to some other street altogether. I believe that Signor Botti has been unable to fit the walls, recorded by Mahmud Bey, to the existing remains near Pompey's Pillar; and I should be very loth to repose much confidence on the Astronomer's delineation of the city walls, or his determination of the transverse streets "by sinking pits;" and still less on his observations under water in the Great Harbour. To recognize and date ancient constructions underground is only less difficult than to recognize and date them under water: both require a training and experience far in excess of that possessed by Mahmud Bey. It is so hopeless to sift his work now, that I and all who treat of the site scientifically must, I fear, ignore him, and start *de novo* from the authorities and the existing indications.

6th we began to drive a gallery $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ feet in direction 210° , and falling 1 in 5 feet, into the loose rubbish on the face of the Fort mound. The point of departure is about 75 feet below the platform on which the Fort stands, and the gallery was directed as accurately as possible towards the Fort flagstaff. After cutting through 10 feet of loose *débris* we hit a brick wall on the right-hand side, whose general direction was

The Kout el Dikk Gallery.



slightly more southerly than that of our gallery; we deflected, therefore, a little to the left and followed the wall for 5 feet. At this point we encountered the face of a wall returning south. We explored it for a short distance, and, seeing that it continued, I decided to make an attempt to break through it in the hope of finding chambers behind. With great difficulty, for the brick was as hard as stone and the mortar almost harder, the sappers cut into it for a distance of $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet; an iron bar was then driven 2 feet more and found to be still in brick work.

It was useless to continue to cut into so gigantic a construction; the farther it was penetrated the more cramped became the space in which the men had to work, and, owing to the looseness of the stuff overhead in the gallery, we could not use blasting materials. We abandoned this gallery, therefore, on March 15th. The walls found in it are made of burnt bricks uniformly $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches \times $4\frac{1}{2}$ \times $2\frac{3}{8}$, laid as "headers and stretchers" on beds of mortar $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick of two kinds, the one containing sand only, and the other mixed with brick-powder. The first kind occurred in the wall into which we cut, and another wall which we found first; the other in the continuation of the returning wall south: it would appear, therefore, that all was not built at the same time. There was no plaster on the face of the wall, and no antiquities were found in the gallery except sherds and glass of Roman date.

The second gallery was begun under a ruined arch, which shows on the south side of the pit. A gallery of the same size as the first was driven at about the same level and in direction 159° for 13 feet, the stuff extracted being earth and stones mixed with fallen ruins of the arch above. We then bent to the right, being sure of having turned the wall, and drove on 235° , the gallery falling about 1 in 6. After proceeding for 31 feet, a brick construction was encountered again. The wall proved thin, and, breaking through it easily, the sappers found themselves in a circular chimney 3 feet 3 inches in diameter, full of very loose earth. Behind it and on either hand was thick wall, which we had no mind to break through, and I directed the sappers, therefore, to turn the structure on the left, if possible, and proceed into the mound. This was done by harking back some 9 feet and breaking out on the left. The gallery was worked round gradually to a direction nearly that of the first abortive tunnel, and proceeded through the same packed earth and stones for close on 40 feet, making a total length of about 70 feet from the open air. But 9 feet from its end a brick wall in very ruinous state had been hit on the left, slanting across the line of the gallery. This had to be cut away, and finally a second chimney, of only $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter, was broken into on the right. Once more we were faced by solid brickwork and could not proceed. It was evident that a large brick building, with many ramifications in a state of ruin, extended under all this eastern side of the Fort mound.

If things were to be elucidated at all we must penetrate lower, and reach a floor or some entrance into a corridor or chamber. To descend one of the "chimneys" was the obvious course, and I chose the one found first as being of largest diameter and in best condition. We began to

work down in it on April 15th. On April 22nd a passage was found crossing the shaft at 10 feet below the level of the gallery. We broke out on the left and found that a large chamber opened out at once, whose walls were of small stones, mortared, and its roof of brick. The door, communicating with the shaft which we had descended, was 2 feet 3 inches broad, and the breadth of the whole chamber 17 feet. The chamber, however, was filled up almost entirely with dampish earth, although the roof, so far as I could see it, was not broken at any point: only the under face of it had fallen in on the earth below. We cleared away the earth at the entrance in order to penetrate into the chamber, and by dint of crawling along under the roof, reached its opposite wall, from which a passage opened, also filled up to the top. The confined space, admitting only of one pickaxe being used at a time, and the necessity of hauling everything up the shaft, caused the work to proceed very slowly, and we had made little impression on the earth in the chamber by April 29th, the date fixed by the withdrawal of the sappers and my own departure from Egypt for the close of operations. I had the frames withdrawn from the gallery, but a door left, so that the work could be resumed easily in the coming season, if it were thought desirable.

What, however, had I found? A very large brick structure of a residential character, certainly of Roman date, and probably not very early Roman, so packed with earth, that the filling must have been done by human labour. This filling, therefore, must have been the work of those who piled up the mound before erecting the Fort above; and it seems most probable that these same hands would have rifled thoroughly the brick chambers before filling them. Neither, therefore, does the building seem much worth exploring for its own architectural or historic interest, nor for the chance of its containing artistic treasures.

Seeing, however, that the lowest point reached by my working party was not nearly so low as the level of the Roman pavement found hard by in the Zogheb plot, there is reason to suppose that much exists below this particular chamber, whose own floor even we did not touch. To work below the point reached by us would be a matter of ever-increasing difficulty, owing to the small space available and the want of ventilation. It would be probably best to abandon altogether our gallery and shaft, and run a sloping adit from outside, cutting through all obstructing walls. Our own early experience, however, demonstrated how slow and painful this operation might prove to be; and, in any case, I fear that anyone exploring this structure would have to reckon on expending much time and money before arriving at a result, very possibly without ever arriving

at any result at all; for the inference to be drawn from the condition of lower remains elsewhere in the town is not favourable to the chance of any notable discovery being made at Kom el Dikk.

From such uniformly negative results, as these obtained south and north of the Boulevard de Rosette, it is necessary to infer that there is no sort of Roman Pompeii beneath modern Alexandria; that things earlier than Roman exist, if at all, for the most part under water; and that the remains of the old city have been stripped of valuables, and even cleared away in great part long before our time. In the face of these facts it seemed idle to explore the open spaces which lie still farther south and west, about Moharrem Bey and Pompey's Pillar. The ground about the base of the latter was being examined by Signor Botti, and, whatever his researches may determine as to the site of the Serapeum, or the Agora, or the "Acropolis" of Aphthonius,¹ so far as they have gone they confirm to the letter my own conclusion as to the ruinous state of ancient remains in Alexandria. To have to go down five or six metres in order to find the rubble cores of walls, broken potsherds of Roman epoch, and fragments of Roman granite entablature, is a fate to which a foreign society need not expose itself. Neither Roman columns, nor statues, nor waterworks, nor rifled Christian graves, are worth spending much money to discover, and nothing better seems to be promised by the open ground that lies between the Fosse and the Canal. The most part of it is in private hands; it is cut up among the gardens and houses of a steadily spreading quarter; and, except for the *Serapeum*, we have no reason to place within its limits any important public building.

The Sema.

Of the greater monuments, whose sites are placed usually south of the Boulevard de Rosette (namely the *Soma*, or *Sema*,² which commemorated the great Founder, the Mausolea of the Ptolemies and their queens, the Museum where was the great library of Philadelphus, and the Serapeum, including a library in Roman times) neither can the sites be fixed with any precision, nor does it appear likely that any considerable remains survive.

The Bruchium Quarter, in which all these monuments, except the Serapeum, probably stood, was reduced to a howling wilderness in the

¹ Προγυμνάσια, § 12. Rhet. Gr., vol. ii.

² Ps. Callisth. iii. 34, and Strabo, p. 794. Zenobius and St. John Chrysostom write *Sema*.

time of Aurelian.¹ St. John Chrysostom² speaks of the Tomb of Alexander as having vanished in his day.³ From early in the 16th century until the middle of the 18th, we know that a little Moslem *turbé*, or saint's tomb, near the Church of St. Mark, was pointed out as the traditional site.⁴ This *turbé* has disappeared now, and its tradition been transferred to other spots, notably one near Pompey's Pillar.

The most sacred locality, however, in Alexandria, in the eyes of modern Moslems, is the Mosque of Nebi Daniel, situated on the west side of Kom el Dikk, at the foot of the mound. Here is the actual resting-place of one Sidi Lckman el Hakim, and the reputed tomb of Daniel the Prophet. The mosque is not far from the site of the Church of St. Mark, and therefore *may* represent the *turbé* called in the Middle Ages the Tomb of Iskender; but not knowing precisely how the latter lay as regards the church, we must leave the question open. Also the mosque's position will satisfy well enough the only topographical indications which have come down to us as regards the Soma; for it is probably within the ancient Bruchium Quarter, and at about the centre of the old city, where Achilles Tatius seems to intend us to understand τὸν ἐπώνυμον Ἀλεξάνδρου τόπον to be.⁵

These considerations, and especially a mysterious sanctity, have caused the mosque of Nebi Daniel to be identified by many with the actual site of the Soma. Of that opinion were Mahmud Bey and

¹ Amm. Marcell. 22, 16, 15.

² Hom. 26, 12. πού γάρ, εἰπέ μοι, τὸ σῆμα Ἀλεξάνδρου; δείξον μοι κ.τ.λ.

³ The last person whom we know to have seen the body of Alexander was the Emperor Septimius Severus (Dio. 70, 13). If Ammianus (22, 2, 7) means the *Soma* by the "*Speciosum Genii templum*," through which he represents the Patriarch George to have passed exclaiming, "*Quam diu sepulchrum hoc stabit?*", his will be the last mention of the tomb as standing. M. A. de Zogheb quotes St. Epiphanius (without reference) as an authority for the ruin of the Soma; and somewhere I have seen it stated that St. Jerome speaks of the Bruchium in his day as only a refuge for hermits. But a search through the ill-indexed Migne ed. of the former, and through three editions of the latter Father, has not resulted in my finding either reference. So I omit them in my text.

⁴ Leo Afric. p. 672 (Elzevir) "*in medio Alexandriae ruderae ædiculam instar sacelli constructam adhuc superesse, insigni sepulchro magno a Machometanis honore affecto memorabilem, quo Alexandri Magni corpus summi prophetæ ac regis, velut in Alcarano legunt, asservari contendunt.*" Cf. also Marmol, Descr. de l'Egypte, ii. 14, who apparently contents himself with plagiarizing Leo Africanus.

⁵ Clit. et Leuc. v. i. Strabo's statement that the Soma was μέρος τῶν βασιλείων, probably implies no more than that it stood on Royal Domain land, the latter including one-third of the whole area of the city, and being situated perhaps a little in all quarters.

Neroutzos, and lately the same view has been presented learnedly and exhaustively by M. Alexandre de Zogheb in an article published in the *Revue d'Égypte*. Primed with this belief, various people have descended into the basement of the mosque and seen "caveaux funéraires païens les plus magnifiques," vaulted halls with radiating corridors, and "granite monuments with angular tops." One enthusiast in 1850 is said to have descried in the dark a king sitting at the end of a subterranean passage with a gold crown on his head—a tale which has an enormous family connection all over the Levant.

The attention directed recently to the mosque has incited the local Moslems to guard jealously their holy place, and not only is excavation now rendered impossible, but a Christian is not admitted on any pretext to the tomb-chamber. There is no reason why this chamber should not cover the site of the Soma; there is equally no reason, in the present chaotic state of our knowledge of the map of the ancient city, to conclude that it does. The tradition passing from *Soma* to *turbé*, and thence to mosque, is broken too seriously to count for much, and general rather than precise locality is preserved usually by religious survival: the scant topographical *data* would be satisfied as well by a site a hundred yards distant in any direction. Finally, there is every reason to think that, if ever found, the site would prove rifled and ruined.

Mausolea.

The same may be predicted safely of the *Mausolea of the Ptolemies*, which stood in the same ring-fence as the Soma.¹ They were in no way concealed, and were guarded less effectually by popular veneration than the Founder's Tomb. Consequently, they were looted probably at an early period, and no spoil from them is known to exist now. Their site must be somewhere near or under the Kom el Dikk Mound.

Museum.

The *Museum*, according to Strabo also μέρος τῶν βασιλείων, cannot be placed with any greater precision. The discoveries, detailed by Neroutzos as made along the western side of the Rue Nebi Daniel, might indicate any building, public or private; and my own comparison of the axis of the Boulevard de Rosette with that of the old Canopic street makes it improbable that the line of the present Rue Nebi Daniel represents at all exactly an ancient transverse street. For the rest,

¹ Strabo, l. c. Zenobius (Cent. iii. 94) understands the *Sema* and some of the tombs of the Ptolemies to have been contained in one building. He relates a story that Ptolemy Philopator, having driven his mother to commit suicide, was constrained by evil dreams to propitiate her shade by burying her with all her forebears and Alexander himself in a new Mausoleum, which is the same as Zenobius (temp. Hadrian) knew as the *Sema*.

topographical *data* as to the position of the Museum are wanting altogether: it is by sheer conjecture that it is placed near to, or west of the reputed site of the Soma.

For the position of the *Serapeum* we have one *datum* only, viz. *Serapeum*. Strabo's statement that it stood in the west part of the city, but within the channel conducting from Marcotis to the sea, which coincides pretty nearly with the present outfall of the Mahmudieh Canal. Rufinus, indeed, says that it was approached by 100 steps: but its elevated position, which served Caracalla as a point from which to watch his massacre, may as well have been artificial as not. It must have stood somewhere in the region of "Pompey's Pillar," but not on the rocky knob which now bears the Pillar itself. The latter monument could never have formed part of a peristyle, for it stands on no stylobate, but over a filled-up cistern. Its style is not much earlier than the date of the honorific inscription it bears, to wit, the reign of Diocletian; and the remains about it, exposed by the zeal of Sig. Botti, in 1894-5, show that the hill top was occupied by waterworks about the 1st century A.D., and by a cemetery in Ptolemaic times. It is possible that the rhetor, Aphthonius, had this Pillar in his mind when he alluded to a single towering column on the "Acropolis of the Alexandrians";¹ but so far as I could see, nothing else in the vicinity fits in with the rhetor's description; which, indeed, I suspect to be a purely artificial exercise for the schools, compounded from hearsay descriptions of three distinct monuments, the Acropolis, the Pillar, and the Serapeum. Sig. Botti is finding, however, many remains of some important Roman building below the hill, on the east and south; and we may still hope that his industry will be rewarded by some clue to fix the site of a Temple, which more than all the monuments of Alexandria seems to have impressed the contemporary world.²

To sum up the results (sadly negative it must be confessed):—in the first place the depth and character of the surface deposit create in Alexandria

¹ Sig. Botti first directed attention to this curious passage (*cit. supra*, p. 22), in which, as a specimen of *ἔκφρασις*, or Description, a most obscure account is given of the "Acropolis" of Alexandria.

² See e.g. Ammianus 22, 16, 12, and Pseudo-Callisthenes i. 31. The last named romance, written in part at least by an Alexandrian for Alexandrians, is very good evidence for details about the city. It alone preserves the number and names of the villages that existed previously on the site (Cod. A, Paris), much information about the great subterranean aqueducts, mentioned also by Hirtius (Bell. Alex. 5), and the names of a dozen buildings and localities.

very serious difficulties. It is no uncommon thing to have to cut through twenty feet of comparatively modern stratification in order to arrive even at the Roman level; and in cases where the surface area, available for excavation, is itself small, a sounding, unless expensively timbered, will contract in twenty feet of descent to a very narrow well indeed. The expense, therefore, is apt to be very disproportionate to the underground space that can be displayed. In the centre of the ancient city the deposit is very unremunerative; little or none of it appears to be wind-laid, but it is the result of continuous habitation since the Arab conquest by poor folk, who, hemmed between lake and sea, have had to throw their rubbish, and even bury their dead, over one and the same area.

In the second place, in descending below the Roman *strata*, and even before these *strata* are left behind, one comes to water before reaching virgin soil. In my sounding on the south side of the Boulevard de Rosette, in the plot once occupied by the house of Mons. Joseph de Zogheb, I have stated that I found water at thirty feet below the surface, with Roman foundations continuing down into it. Further to the north-east, between the old fortifications and the Boulevard de Rosette, I observed water in foundation borings at thirty-five feet below the surface, but not below the made earth and deposit. In the eastern cemeteries at Hadra, Chatby, and Sidi Gabr, the lowest layer of tombs is found frequently to be below water. It is not conceivable that the original burials were made at a flooded level, nor is it probable that in the city itself nothing but water exists below the Roman constructions, as at present seems so often the case. I believe that in consequence of a general subsidence of the land, the water has risen considerably over all the Alexandrian area since the early ages of the city, and that Ptolemaic *strata*, where such exist, often would have to be sought now in bottom-mud, two or three metres below the mean water-level. It follows also, alas! that there is little or no hope that *papyri* can be preserved even in the Roman *strata*, which lie immediately above the water, and are very damp from capillary attraction. The absence, however, of Ptolemaic remains is one of the most discouraging features of the site. In all my own soundings I found nothing below the Roman; the local Museum is, as its title states, Græco-Roman, not Greek and Roman; excepting funerary objects found in the cemeteries, it contains hardly a score of things Greek or Egypto-Greek; and stray finds of which I could gain information, made in digging foundations and wells, or in levelling building plots, were in almost all cases Roman objects, or at best Greek handiwork, re-used in the Roman age. The

Roman Alexandrians would seem to have rebuilt their houses and public edifices after a complete clearance of the remains of their predecessors, not, as in the mud-brick cities of Upper Egypt, breaking down previous constructions to a general level, and rising with each successive rebuilding some metres higher. It is therefore a Roman, not a Greek city, which is to be excavated at Alexandria; a city containing scattered Greek objects of art, no doubt, but these the relics re-used of a former age.

Roman sites, it is generally agreed, must be submitted to a severe comparative test, when considered as fields for excavation. The exploration of each and all has, of course, like that of Silchester or Chester in England, a local interest for the present inhabitants of a country whose history contains a Roman chapter; but when put into general comparison with all the possible sites of the classic world, a Roman site must be a Herculaneum, or at least an Ostia, to hold its own against the Egyptian, the Assyrian, or the Greek. From two of these three we have so much more to learn, for their civilizations are so much less known; from the last so much more to gain for the Treasury of Art. If the expenditure of thousands of pounds in acquiring lands for excavation purposes, and of other thousands in removing six to nine metres of earth from their surface, is to be recommended to subscribers, who have no *local* interest in a particular "Roman" site to supplement their general desire for the elucidation of the history of human progress, such recommendation must be coupled with an assurance that something like a Pompeii exists below.

That such is not the case at Alexandria I think my own researches, added to previous experience, conclusively show. Walls stripped of their facing and cleared away down to pavement level, and pavements hacked through, prepare us for the damning fact—for fact it is—that hardly anything of really first-rate style has ever been found in Alexandria. Witness the local Museum, witness the local private collections, containing much that is interesting, much that is very good second-rate—next to nothing that is first-rate. Whatever objects of art of the finest periods or styles existed in Alexandria, it would seem, are either under water now (and how useless it is to grope under water, except for a definite object, all excavators know), or have been abstracted long ago. The exploration of Alexandria is beset with too many restrictions, and promises too little return for the huge outlay involved, to be recommended to foreign societies. The chart of the ancient streets and walls must be made little by little, line upon line, by those who reside on the spot; to these

topographical knowledge alone is a sufficient reward, and doubtless there will be added unto them now and then, from a test shaft, or a foundation sinking, some valuable object. As things stand at present, the site of no monument, except the Cæsareum, is known certainly; and I doubt if any of the ancient charts, as accepted at present, can be relied upon. As there are, perhaps, few sites in Egypt that can be recommended to foreign excavators less than Alexandria, so there is none that more urgently needs persevering and enthusiastic local archæologists, watchful for every chance indication, and jealous for the preservation of all existing remains. Foreign societies might well subsidize such research as theirs, doing thus *per alios* what they are not justified in undertaking *per se*.

D. G. HOGARTH.

C.—NOTE ON EXCAVATIONS IN ALEXANDRIAN CEMETERIES.

EXCAVATIONS were made this year in the cemeteries to the east of Alexandria at three points: (i.) at Hadra, close to the railway station; (ii.) about half a mile outside the Canopic Gate, close to the Ramleh Road; (iii.) at Sidi Gabr.

(i.) The whole Hadra district is one vast cemetery, containing many layers of graves. A beginning was made at a convenient spot close to the station, and seemingly untouched in recent times. A number of Roman cups and pots were found lying, for the most part, loose in the soil. They were all of poor, coarse workmanship, and of late date.

About twenty feet from the present surface of the soil, we came upon the top of a stone-built vault (A), chiefly in a ruined condition, though one wall was still standing. It was built of soft, white stone, thickly mortared between the joints, and stuccoed in the same manner over its inner surface. Out of this opened two graves, one of which (B) had evidently been opened at some date; the other (C) was closed by a thin stone slab, still *in situ*. In each we found the remains of a skeleton, but no trace of pottery or other objects.

From the middle of the passage ascended three stone steps which led to a perpendicular shaft, which we cleared out. In the sides, which were uncased by stone, and consisted of compact native sandstone, were rough steps cut on each side for purposes of descending. At a depth of

eighteen feet two chambers opened from the shaft, in each of which was a lead coffin containing a skeleton. Both of these had been broken open, and their contents rifled. By the side of one coffin were lying two small earthenware *aryballi* of tapering shape, made of fine yellow clay. They may be approximately dated to the 1st century B.C.

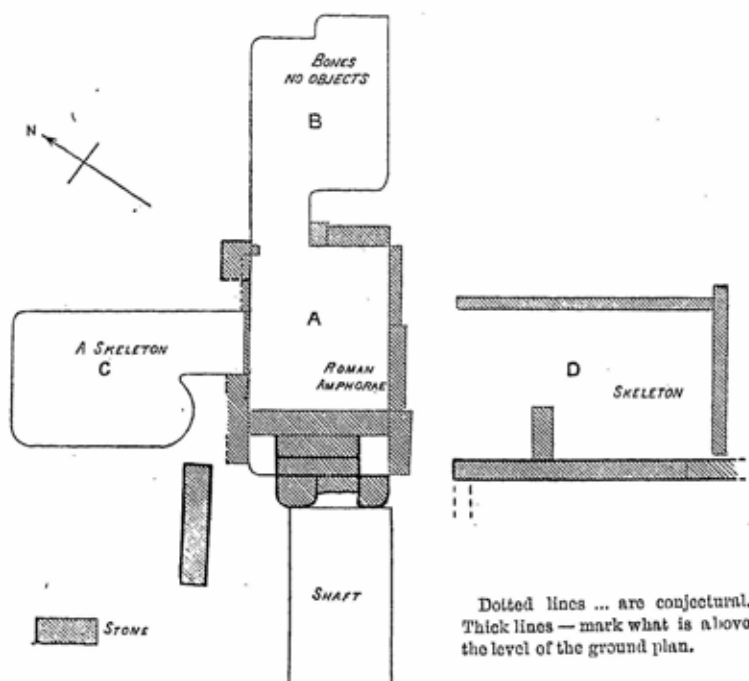
There was still another opening descending from this shaft, but before we had got more than a foot or two down, we struck water, and had to abandon it. But as none of the other chambers of this system contained any object of value, it would probably have also proved blank. A stone slab, possibly part of its door, lay at the entrance. On it was a well-executed diamond pattern in stone, but no inscription. The shaft was cleared for a few feet lower, when we reached water, at nearly forty feet below the surface of the ground, and ceased digging.

Close to the mouth of this shaft were found two large Roman amphoræ with tapering ends, ribbed on the inside, but smooth outside. Many other fragments turned up from time to time, of late and dispiriting appearance.

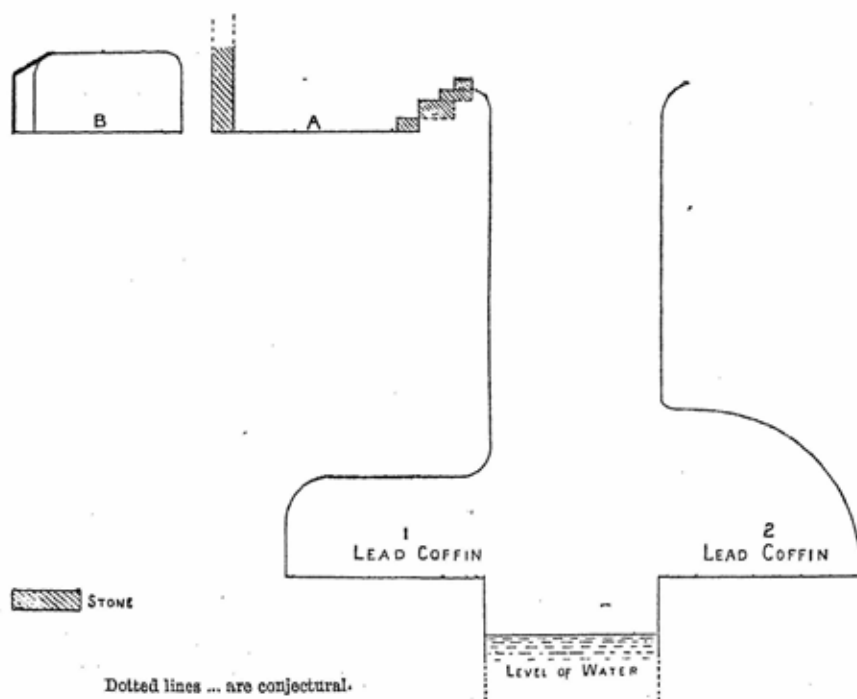
Adjoining this vaulted passage, at a slightly higher level, lay another stone-built chamber (D), containing a skeleton. This evidently did not belong to the same set of tombs, as a wall, still intact, separated it from them.

Several other tombs were opened at a higher level, some twelve feet below the adjoining soil, in one of which were found seven Roman, or Græco-Roman, jars containing ashes. One of these had been covered with white paint, and showed traces of an ornamental band in red round the neck. On the floor of this tomb, which, like the majority of the others, was cut in the sandstone, we found a gilt bronze chaplet of leaves and berries, but in an utterly rotten and decayed condition; and just outside, a small gold plaque, about one and a half inches square, on which was stamped, in repoussée, a horse and horseman carrying an emblem, resembling the Sceptre of Bes. This, doubtless, came from the tomb just mentioned; which, to judge by its appearance, had been opened, but certainly not in recent times.

The whole appearance of these tombs was discouraging. Even at a depth of forty feet below the surface, beyond which it was impossible to go owing to the water, we had come upon nothing of good date. The stone building of the vault was careless and rough, the pottery was coarse and late, and above all, the whole place seemed to have been thoroughly overhauled and robbed of any articles of value which it might once have contained.



GROUND PLAN OF HADRA TOMBS.



VERTICAL SECTION OF HADRA TOMBS AND SHAFT.

(ii.) *The Site by the Ramleh Road.*

Here a passage dug in the earth, probably of late years by Arab treasure-seekers, and fragments of pottery at its mouth, with fine black glaze, led us to dig down, in order to strike the far end of the passage, and open the tombs which had not, at any rate, been dug from the side on which we were approaching them.

The ground was full of fragments, some apparently of good date, and others which presented a certain interest, as they seemed to mark the transition from Egyptian to Greek art. A small head, for instance, in relief on the outside of a cup, was evidently of Greek workmanship and style, but made in the green vitreous glaze of Egypt. Several fragments of wave pattern and cable pattern also pointed to the same epoch. But, unfortunately, after a few days' digging, we came upon a long row of large Roman amphoræ, which at once made it likely that these other fragments were the *debris* of graves which had been already rifled. Adjoining this row of amphoræ was a piece of Roman concrete pavement, and coarse brick and mortar work came to light. In one of these amphoræ, which was filled with ashes, we found a headless figurine, on which the colours were still well preserved, of a technique resembling the Tanagra work, and near it a negro's head of the Fayoum fabric.

A little lower down again we came upon fragments of bones, and one or two skulls, which again looked very unpromising; and on getting into the graves themselves, we found that they had been completely cleaned out. The Roman amphoræ lying untouched fifteen feet above them, tended to show that the rifling had been done in Roman times.

In the graves themselves there was nothing left. Bones and ornaments alike had been cleared out. Here again we struck a vault with four chambers in it, the roof of one of which, cut in the sandstone, was stuccoed and painted in three colours. After clearing out this system of tombs, we continued to dig downwards in the hopes of getting upon another layer, but the soil below was absolutely virgin and undisturbed, and it soon became obvious that we had dug out the lowest set of tombs. The hole made here was about thirty feet in depth, and the shaft communicating with the tombs some six or seven feet more.

The hole, however, was useful in certain ways, for it made it clear that there were graves of an interesting epoch on this site. The pottery found here was markedly better than that at Hadra, which all belonged to a base epoch. The question is how far this rifling of tombs has gone; whether the vast cemetery which lies in this district has been entirely

spoiled. An untouched tomb, containing such objects as we found fragments of, would of course well repay the labour spent fruitlessly on other rifled tombs, but as far as we know at present, the rifling has been widespread and complete. About twenty-five inscribed amphora handles of Greek design, many of them bearing the device of Rhodes, were also found here. The epigraphy of these belonged to the second and third centuries B.C.

(iii.) *At Sidi Gabr.*

We dug here in a piece of land belonging to M. Aquilina, in which had been found the sarcophagus which is known in Alexandria as Cleopatra's, and is now in America. From a description which was given to me of it, the identification is to be attributed to a Medusa head, which was carved on one side of the sarcophagus: this was interpreted as Cleopatra's face, with an asp or asps in her hair. Here again the results were most disappointing. Two burials were found from four to six feet below the surface of the ground, neither of which yielded anything. Digging down, we came on to a line of masonry at the depth of twenty-two feet, which proved to be a tomb shaft. Three sides were complete, but there was no trace of the fourth side. The outer surface of the wall was of coarse, rough construction, badly-shaped stones being lumped in with mortar; but inside, the courses, of larger stone, were squared and neatly adjusted. Ten feet below its opening the wall ceased, the rest of the shaft being merely cut in the sandstone rock. At this point we struck water, but with the help of a pump were able to keep it under until we reached the bottom of the shaft, two feet below. A few bones were found, but nothing else.

Opposite the mouth of the shaft was found a Roman drain pipe of ribbed ware, which was followed for fifteen yards. Its direction was slightly upwards, and might perhaps lead to the remains of some villa, but as such a villa must have stood, if it existed at all, under a modern house, it was useless to pursue the drain pipe further.

That burials containing objects of value exist at Alexandria is possible, and even probable. At the same time, the excavations made there this year prove beyond a doubt that the rifling and robbing of tombs have been conducted on a very extensive scale, and the immense size of the cemeteries surrounding the town make an exhaustive search almost impossible. As will be seen from the above account, the labour of clearing is very considerable, the three holes we dug varying between thirty and forty feet in depth. The accumulation of soil on the top of

these cemeteries is immense, and no excavation is likely to be of the slightest value, unless it is carried out to the end, i.e. to the level of virgin rock, or water. Even then, as has been shown, the chance of finding objects that will repay the time and expense of working, is small in any individual hole; though that such objects exist is well within the bounds of probability.

The plans which accompany this note were made by Mr. E. R. Bevan, with whom I worked in conjunction.

E. F. BENSON.

B.—THE EXCAVATIONS AT DEIR EL BAHARI DURING THE WINTER, 1894-95.

(See Plates I. and II. and Plan.)

THE clearing of the temple at Deir el Bahari is practically finished. This great work has extended over nearly three winters, and has occupied 215 working days. The temple of Hatshepsu now presents a striking sight to the traveller approaching from Goornah along the old central avenue, or on the flank from the Ramesseum. The proto-Doric columns give one the impression of a Greek temple; and the white limestone of which they are made, though by no means to be compared to white marble, contributes to that illusion.

The first work we attempted, when we settled there at the end of November, was the completion of the clearing of the middle platform. On the north side we had dug down to the floor only along the colonnade. Now, all the mounds which remained on the platform have disappeared. We found there some Coptic burials,¹ and also a few coffins of the XXVIth Dynasty. One of them, belonging to a woman, is very fine. I believe that the inner cores of these mounds, which consisted merely of chips of rock, are the *débris* produced by the levelling of the floor and the dressing of the rock behind the colonnade. When the construction of the temple was interrupted, the workmen did not take the trouble to carry the chips away.

On the southern side of the platform, in front of the Punt terrace, stood a small mound, which looked like a heap of rubbish coming from

¹ See pl. II.

former excavations. It turned out to be a mass of huge stones piled up intentionally, probably at the time of the building of the convent.

The top of the middle platform being cleared, I went further south, to the supporting wall of the platform, and to the vestibule of the Hathor shrine. On the retaining wall are still seen sculptured enormous hawks and traces of vultures and asps which were mutilated by the enemies of the worship of Amon. Parallel to the retaining wall ran an enclosure wall which did not reach the height of the platform, but which formed with it a passage ending in a staircase now entirely ruined. It seems to have been the only way to reach the Hathor shrine.


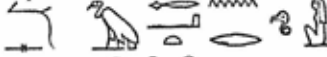

In this and in other parts of the temple we gathered fragments of the famous Punt wall. Small as these fragments often are, they give us important information as to the nature of the land of Punt. Its African character comes out more and more clearly. Although the name of Punt may have applied also to the coast of South Arabia, it is certain that the Egyptian boats sent by the Queen anchored on the African shore. In the newly-discovered fragments we find two kinds of monkeys climbing up the palm trees: the dog-headed baboon, the sacred animal of Thoth, and the round-headed monkey. We see also bulls with long and twisted horns, like the animals which, as I have been told, were brought to Egypt some years ago from the Abyssinian coast. Two panthers are fighting together; the head of a giraffe appears reaching to the top of a tree, and a hippopotamus is also sculptured as one of the animals of the country.

A small fragment speaks of "cutting ebony in great quantity," and on another we see the axes of the Egyptians felling large branches off one of the dark-stemmed trees which had not hitherto been identified, but which can now be proved to be ebony. A chip serves to show that the people had two different kinds of houses, one of which was made of wicker-work. It is doubtful whether we shall find many more fragments; unfortunately, what we have are not sufficient to permit us to reconstruct entirely the invaluable Punt sculptures, which have been most wantonly destroyed in ancient and modern times.

The Hathor shrine had been cleared entirely by Mariette, but its vestibule was still covered with rubbish and large stones to nearly half its height. When we reached the floor, we came unexpectedly upon an untouched tomb. A pit had been dug to a depth of about thirteen feet, and at the bottom one could see the bricks and stones which closed the entrance. After I had removed them and passed the very narrow opening, I found myself in a small, rock-hewn chamber. It was nearly

filled with three large wooden coffin-cases placed near each other, of rectangular form, with arched lids, and a post at each of the four corners. On the two nearest the entrance were five wooden hawks, one on each post, and one about the middle of the lid. Each coffin-case had at the foot of the lid a wooden jackal, with a long tail hanging over the end. Wreaths of flowers were laid on them, and at head and feet stood a box containing a great number of tiny glazed *ushabtis*.

The opening of the chamber being very small, it is evident that these large coffin-cases were taken into the tomb in pieces, and put together afterwards. We opened the one next to the door, and found inside it a coffin in the form of a mummy, with head and ornaments well painted, and a line of hieroglyphics reaching to the feet. We then opened the two others, and found that they also contained coffins, which we hauled up through the opening of the tomb. When we had stored them in our house, we opened the coffins, and we found in each an inner coffin, brilliantly painted with representations of gods and scenes from the Book of the Dead. In this at last was the mummy, very well wrapped in pink cloth, with a net of beads all over the body, a scarab with outspread wings, also made of beads, and the four funeral genii. We unrolled one of the mummies; it was carefully wrapped in good cloth. Over the body was a very hard crust of bitumen which we had to use a chisel to break. There were no amulets or ornaments of any kind, except the beads.

These three mummies, which required nine cases for their burial, are those of a priest of Menthu  Zet Tehuti (Thoth) *Anf Ankh*, his mother,  Nes mut *Aat ner*, and his aunt  Ta bek en Khonsu. They evidently belong to the Saitic epoch, and are good specimens of that period.

In the passage between the enclosure and the retaining wall of the middle platform, not far from the Hathor shrine, the workmen came upon an inclined plane cut in the rock, leading to the entrance of a large tomb evidently destined to receive a stone coffin. The rubbish was quite untouched. When we had cleared the door, we entered a large shaft, well cut in the rock, and opening into a large chamber. In the middle was a rectangular space excavated for a stone sarcophagus, but instead of such a sarcophagus there was only a poor wooden coffin with bones which seemed to have been disturbed. There was no inscription or ornament

of any kind, except a few hieratic signs. Evidently the person for whom the tomb was made never was buried in it, for there were no signs of plundering. It is therefore quite possible that this large tomb may have been intended to be that of the Queen Hatshepsu, but that she never was buried there. If we remember the hatred with which Thothmes III. pursued his aunt's memory, and his efforts not only to wipe away the record of her life but even to annihilate her *ka*, or "double," in the other world, can we suppose that he would have allowed her body to be buried sumptuously in the tomb which she had prepared? Would he not rather have deprived her of burial? It is not unnatural to suppose that this tomb, discovered in the passage close to the Hathor shrine, was that which Hatshepsu had prepared for herself.

While completing the clearance of the same passage, the workmen quite unexpectedly came across a large foundation deposit in a small rock-cut pit, about three feet deep. The pit was covered with mats, under which lay first a few pots of common earthenware; then about fifty wooden objects, the models of an implement, the use of which I do not understand. We called them winnowers; but they may be sledges, used for threshing the corn; each one bears the cartouche of the queen with the mention that she is a worshipper of Amon at Deir el Bahari. Under the "winnowers" were fifty wooden hoes, four bronze plaques, a hatchet, a knife, eight wooden models of adzes, and eight larger adzes, with bronze blades; at the bottom ten little pots of alabaster, and also ten baskets, which are stands for pots. The things have no artistic beauty; there is no precious metal or stone among them, but they are interesting as historical evidence. I believe they are among the most ancient and the largest foundation deposits ever discovered.

Some rebuilding was done last winter. In the sanctuary a heavy lintel, thrown down by mummy-hunters, nearly closed the entrance from the first chamber to the second. This lintel has been raised, and the door rebuilt. I was thus enabled to clear the first hall of the sanctuary down to the pavement, as well as the two next chambers. In doing so I discovered an interesting piece of sculpture, a great part of which has unfortunately been destroyed by the Copts. It shows the garden of the temple, the ponds of water in the neighbourhood, and the fishes, birds, and water-plants living in them. Curiously, these ponds, of which there are four, are called "ponds of milk, which are on both sides of this god (Amon) when he rests in his temple." One may wonder how it was possible to have ponds and a garden in such a desolate place as Deir el Bahari, at a mile's distance from the nearest well in the cultivated land.

I have not found any traces of the ponds, but I have proofs that vegetation was artificially sustained. On the lower platform there are several round pits sunk into the rock to a depth of about ten feet. They are full of Nile mud, hardened by the watering of the palm or apricot trees planted in them. Several of the stumps were found *in situ*. The natives told me that there are a great number of these pits, which they call "sagiehs," along the avenue where the Sphinxes stood. With the trees I found small alabaster pots, probably filled with some sacred oil or incense, and which I suppose to have been amulets put there in order to protect the trees and insure their growth.

An interesting piece of work which will have to be done next winter, now that the clearing is finished, is the sorting of the inscribed and sculptured stones, to be, if possible, replaced in their original positions. Coptic walls will have to be taken down, as they often are built of blocks with interesting sculptures. In the first year of the work I discovered a block belonging to a representation, at present unique, of an obelisk being transported on a large boat. Only the bows of the boat could be seen. Later on I found the rudder, but still the middle part was missing. This has now been found, and nearly the whole length of obelisk is seen. To bind the obelisk to its sledge there is a long horizontal rope, with cross-ropes passing at regular intervals over each of the wedges on which the heavy monument rests. Another sculpture, the blocks of which have been found in the basement of the Coptic tower, shows a seated colossus on a boat towed along the river by two barges with many rowers. As we know to what part of the temple this sculpture belongs, it will be easy to put it back again.

The last find made this winter was of rude Coptic mummies, buried in rectangular brick constructions, which we had thought to be beds for the monks. These "beds" were placed at the entrance of the southern Hall of Offerings, which evidently was the principal church of the convent. When we removed them we found they were graves; the mummies were buried one over the other, two or three in one tomb. They had numerous wrappings, without ornament or painting, but generally there were a leather apron and a leather belt upon the body.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

II.—PROGRESS OF EGYPTOLOGY.

A.—HIEROGLYPHIC STUDIES, ETC.

EXCAVATIONS AND EXPLORATIONS.

WHILE our Society has continued its work at Deir el Bahri, Professor Flinders Petrie has had another successful season, not far from Thebes, in the district about Negadeh, opposite the site of last year's work. He has satisfactorily proved that Juvenal's Ombites dwelt here and worshipped Set, in close proximity to the Hathor-city of Tentyra. Strange to say, no Roman site has been discovered; but some interesting temple remains date from the XVIIIth Dynasty.

Near this city were two cemeteries explored by Mr. Petrie and his assistants, abounding in pottery made without the wheel but often of elegant form and with remarkable decoration. For many years past curious slate objects, carved into the forms of birds and animals, have been brought home by travellers from Upper Egypt, and found their way into museums. Professor Petrie unearthed an abundance of these, together with magnificently worked flint instruments, knives, harpoon heads, &c. Several thousand tombs were opened, and although antiquities were abundant in them, in no single case was anything of an Egyptian character associated with these remains, nor were any traces of writing discovered. A glance at the finds shows that they are of very early date, but there is evidence to prove that they belong to the period between the IVth Dynasty and the XIIth. They must, therefore, be the productions of a foreign race that settled for a time in Egypt.

M. de Morgan has continued to prosecute his researches at Dahshûr with extraordinary success. He cleared the remains of a destroyed pyramid, and, trenching the ground close to it, found some *mastabas* of the IVth Dynasty, with very fine paintings. But an unparalleled discovery awaited him at 100 metres to the west, where on the 15th

February his trenches revealed two undisturbed tombs of princesses of the XIIth Dynasty, with their sarcophagi absolutely intact, and the mummies covered with jewellery. The names of these two princesses, who appear to have lived under Amenemhat II., are Ita and Khnemt. Their jewellery amounts to 5760 objects in gold, silver, lapis lazuli, malachite (?), carnelian, and pastes. The weight of gold is estimated at 50 oz., all of the finest workmanship, while that of the silver is only 3 oz. The most remarkable of all the remains are two crowns of gold inlaid with stones. Khnemt was the owner of these, and indeed of the greater part of the jewellery, much of which was found in her statue-chamber or *serdab*.

PUBLICATIONS OF TEXTS.

These are best arranged geographically.

From localities in Nubia we have, from—

SOBA (near Khartûm). Inscription in Ethiopian hieroglyphs on a colossal (?) ram. This is the southernmost known of such inscriptions. (Duemichen, *sur Géographie*, pl. vi.)

IBRÎM. A stela of Sety I., and at ERMENNEH a short hymn. (Sayce, *Rec. de Tr.* xvi. 169.)

From localities in Upper Egypt, excluding Thebes—

SEHÊL and KUBBANIYEH. An inscription from each. (Sayce, *l.c.* p. 174.)

PHILÆ. A second fasciculus of the inscriptions of the temple by Bénédict. (*Mém. de la Miss. arch. franç.* xiii. livr. 2.)

OMBOS. M. de Morgan, assisted by MM. Bouriant, Legrain, Jéquier and Barsanti, in the second volume of the *Catalogue des Monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte Antique*, has published the first half of the scenes and inscriptions in the temples, comprising those of the pylon by which the enclosure was entered, the small temple or *Mammeisi*, and the western part of the great temple. There is nothing earlier than the Ptolemies among them. The work is most admirably arranged, and is a model of compressed description and illustration.

EDFÛ. A second fasciculus of the inscriptions in the temple, copied by De Rochemonteix. (*Mém. de la Miss. arch. franç.* x. livr. 2.)

ELKÂB. Mr. J. J. Tylor's *édition de luxe* of the tomb of Paperi.

ABYDOS. Decree of Nekhthorheb, to stop quarrying in the sacred mountain. (Daressy, *Rec. de Tr.* xvi. 127.)

EL BIRBEH. An inscription of Rameses II., leading Daressy to the identification of the site of This (*l. c.* p. 124).

PTOLEMAIS. Inscriptions of the quarries, Demotic, Greek, Latin and Coptic. (*Mém. de la Miss. arch. franç.* viii. livr. 3.)

Opposite ASYÛT. Inscription of a new king, Hornezzatef, son of Aamu, of the XIIIth Dynasty (*l. c.* p. 133).

From Thebes, east bank:—

LUXOR. The great colonnade, with mutilated but interesting processional scenes of the age of Horemheb. (Daressy, *Mém. de la Miss. arch. franç.* viii. livr. 3.)

Fragments of a stela of Rameses II. (Daressy, *Rec. de Tr.* xvi. 126.)

KARNAK. Great temple, description of the scene of tributaries of Horemheb. (Bouriant, *l. c.* xvii. 41.)

Temple of Apet. A description intended to be complete, but left unfinished owing to the death of the author, M. Rochemonteix. (*Bibliothèque Égyptologique, œuvres diverses de M. R.* pp. 169-318, and pl. i.-xvi., mostly published now for the first time.)

From the west bank of Thebes:—

DEIR EL BAHARI. Photographs, &c., of the temple in M. Naville's introductory Memoir (XIIth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund).

TOMB OF PEDUAMENAPT. Several plates of inscription, without letter-press, in the third (posthumous) volume of Duemichen's publication of the tomb (*Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, pl. i.-iv. and xxx.-xxxi.). We appear now to have about two-fifths of the inscriptions, which are so extraordinarily rich in ritual texts. The rest of Duemichen's copies unhappily are lost, and if new copies can ever be made, they will be far less complete, much having been destroyed in recent years.

SHEIKH 'ABD EL QURNEH. XVIIIth Dynasty tombs: of May, superintendent of the port of Thebes, of various masons, of Zeser-ka-ra-senb, a scribe of granaries, of Pa-ari, a priest of Amen, of Zanni, a scribe of soldiers under Thothmes III., &c. (much destroyed since Champollion's copy). Tomb of Apuy, sculptor to Rameses II., with interesting scenes of gardening. Tomb of Mentuemhat, governor of Thebes, perhaps under Tirhakah, in ancient style revived. Tomb of Aba, steward of Netaqert, daughter of Psammetichus I. (all by Scheil, in *Mém. de la Miss. arch. franç.* v. livr. 4.)

From Lower Egypt:—

DAHSHŪR. Inscriptions of the XIIth Dynasty. (De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 1894.)

SAQQÂREH. Religious inscriptions in the tomb of Psemtek. (Daressy, *Rec. de Tr.* xvii. 17.)

MEMPHIS. Stela of king Tutankhamen (*l. c.* xvi. 124).

GIZEH. Stela of the third year of king Ay (from a temple near the Great Pyramid).

SAMMANNŪD. Statue of Saite period (*l. c.* 126).

TIDEH (near Buto). Cartouche of Khufu.

SIMBELLAWIN. Fragmentary inscription on a statue. (Foucart, *l. c.* xvii. 100.)

Of other hieroglyphic inscriptions, generally without specified locality, we may note:—

Stela of Akhenaten re-worked and inscribed under Horemheb (Daressy, *Rec. de Tr.* xvi. 123.)

Fragment with cartouches of Teos, and a stela of Ptolemy Soter (*l. c.* 127).

Inscription of a priest of Khufu, Khafra, and Dedefra under Saite kings. (Chassinat, *l. c.* xvii. 54.)

A hundred lithographed pages of texts of all periods from the XIIth Dynasty onwards, carefully copied from the originals in the Gizeh Museum. (Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog. rec. en Égypte*, 3me série, i. planches: commentary to follow.)

Several texts by Wiedemann. (*Rec. de Tr.* xvii. 1, and *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xvii.)

Inscription on a cubit in the Louvre by M. Pierret. (*Proc. l. c.*)

HIERATIC inscriptions and papyri. We owe much to Dr. Spiegelberg, who has fixed the age of a large group of documents, hitherto unplaced, to the reign of Herhor, first king of the XXIst Dynasty. A number of these, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, are excellently edited by him, with some photographic facsimiles (*Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres, avec autre fragments épistolaires de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, from *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat.* Tome xxxiv.). Their importance is chiefly philological. Other documents commented on by him last year are now published in facsimile. (*Rec. de Tr.* xvi. 185.)

Daressy publishes transcriptions of a fragment of the well-known

satire on trades (upon an ostracon), and of a curious prayer on papyrus referring to games. (*Rec. de Tr.* xvi. 128.)

The text of the "Instructions of Amenemhat I. to his son Usertesen," which once belonged to Millingen, is the only copy which is not altogether too corrupt for translation. Unfortunately Millingen's original is lost, but a facsimile of it was sent by Peyron of Turin to De Rougé, in whose family it has been preserved. Professor Maspero published two pages of it in the second volume of the *Recueil de Travaux*, and now he adds the remainder, a fragment of the third and last page (*Rec. de Tr.* xvii. 64). Slight as it is, it is of great value for restoring the end of the text, and it seems now almost possible to make a translation of this interesting but perhaps unauthentic document, yet no one risks it.

A new and improved facsimile of the Papyrus of Any (Book of the Dead) has been issued by the Trustees of the British Museum. Professor Lieblein has transcribed a number of late funerary papyri, containing several varieties of short texts from Gîzeh, the British Museum, &c. (*Le Livre égyptien 'Que mon nom fleurisse.'*)

In DEMOTIC we have nothing to record, except a few quarry inscriptions from the hills behind Ptolemais, copied by Legrain. (*Mém. de la Miss. arch. franç.* viii. livr. 3.)

HISTORY.

The history of Egypt down to the Hyksos period has been the subject of two important works, each of which puts it in a new light. More than two-thirds of *Les Origines*, the first volume of Professor Maspero's great work, *Histoire Ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, is occupied with a general account of early Egypt, richly illustrated, and written in an attractive style, yet furnished with ample references to authorities. Such subjects as the geography, the administration, the mythology, the manner of life, are dealt with at length, and the history in its narrower sense is not more fully developed than these, the less important kings being passed over in silence. Two more volumes will continue the history of the nearer East down to the time of the Macedonian conquest. The English edition of the first volume is entitled *The Dawn of Civilization*, and is published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The aim of Professor Petrie's little volume (which is brought down to the end of the Hyksos) is quite different. It is a student's handbook of reference for the acts and monuments of each king in succession, introduced by a very suggestive chapter on the prehistoric period, and

a discussion of the first three dynasties, of which scarcely any monuments exist. This work is one of a series, which will deal with the history of Egypt down to the present day.

Maspero devotes an article (in the *Rec. de Tr.* vol. xvii.) to the discussion of king Userkara Aty, in the VIth Dynasty; the kings of Manetho's first dynasty; and the list of Eratosthenes. The last he concludes to be utterly worthless. Professor Petrie's attempt to make use of it, ingenious though it undoubtedly is, cannot surely be sustained.

Daressy publishes the name of a new king, attributed to the XIIIth Dynasty, viz. (Hetep-ab-ra) (Her-nez-atef, son of Aamu) (*Rec. de Tr.* xvi. 133). The last name, it may be remarked, means "the Asiatic," and was applied to the Hyksos, at any rate in the XVIIIth Dynasty.

The interesting stela of Ptolemy Philadelphus, found at Pithom by M. Naville, has been subjected to a fresh examination, first by Brugsch, and then by Erman, who edits Brugsch's posthumous notes upon it. The text is of very great importance for both history and geography, but it was so execrably engraved that it is little more than tantalizing to the would-be reader. The revision does not bring out any new acts of importance, but it is satisfactory to have the work of these great scholars, in addition to the excellent reading by M. Naville himself. (*Zeitschrift für Aeg. Sprache*, xxxii. 74.)

Ed. Mahler has written an article on the monumental materials for Egyptian Chronology (XVIII—XXth Dynasties), from the point of view of an astronomer (*l. c.* 99).

Professor Erman's important work *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Alterthum*, has at length been translated into English under the title of *Life in Ancient Egypt*. We only regret that the translation was not made ten years ago, but it is a great gain to English readers even at this date.

GEOGRAPHY.

Duemichen's posthumous work *Zur Geographie des Alten Aegypten*, contains as letterpress the translation of two late geographical texts, one of them, from Denderah, with corrections of Mariette's copy; and for plates, elaborately named maps of Upper and Lower Egypt, with a special map of the territory of Memphis. They were intended to illustrate a large work on the Geography of Ancient Egypt. These literary remains, some of which were engraved in 1886, are of no great value, but their publication, and that of the third volume of the tomb

of Peduamenapt, gives us all that existed in print of his projected works at the time of the author's death.

Maspero's history has many remarks on geography. Daressy places the city of This, important as the capital of a nome and the reputed birthplace of Menes, at El Birbeh, six miles north of Girgeh. (*Rec. de Tr.* xvi. 124.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Maspero suggests a connexion between the name of the Syrian chief Amuensi, in the story of Sanehat, and those of certain early kings of Babylonia, beginning with the element Ammi, Ammu. (*Rec. de Trav.* xvii. 76.)

PHILOLOGY.

A second supplement to Simeone Levi's laboriously compiled *Vocabolario Geroglifico-Coptico-Ebraico* has appeared. It contains a large number of new words from the Pyramid texts. Count Schack-Schackenburg's elaborate *Index to the Pyramid Texts* (lithographed, in German) of which the first part has just appeared, promises to be a thoroughly scientific work, excellent in every way. It will form three complete volumes in his series of *Aegyptologische Studien*.

Of grammatical work we have Erman's discovery of a relic of verbal inflection in the Coptic *meshak*, and an article by Spiegelberg, entitled, "A new kind of nominal formation." Erman has also published a most curious scrap of a school exercise, with a translation of two sentences from Middle Egyptian into New Egyptian. (Erman in *Zeits. f. A. s.* xxxii. 127, 128; Spiegelberg in *Rec.* xxi. 191.)

Professor Piehl has contributed more notes on Egyptian philology to the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. (Vol. xvi.)

Of translations we may note Piehl's rendering of an important Saite stela in the Louvre. (*Zeits. f. A. s.* xxxii. 118.)

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.

The Book of the Dead is the subject of several publications in English. Mr. Renouf continues his translation. Mr. Budge has published a translation of the Papyrus of Any to accompany the facsimile, with introductory chapters on some of the principal mythological ideas involved, as well as lists of gods and place names.

In America has appeared a cheap reprint of Lepsius' and De Rouge's

texts, with Pierret's version and sundry introductory matter. (Davis, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*).

Daressy has printed several early funerary texts from coffins of the Middle Kingdom (*Rec. de trav.* xvi. 130), and Lieblein has transcribed some very late texts from papyri of the Roman period. (*Le Livre "que mon nom fleurisse."*)

We also note Chassinat's translation of the "book of protecting the divine bark." (*Rec. de trav.* xvi. 105.)

Breasted's edition of the Hymn to Aten is a careful work with a good introduction, pointing out the effect that Akhenaten's heresy had in making hymns to the Sun popular after the heresy itself had been rooted out. (*Dissertation, De hymnis in solem.*)

Wiedemann's *Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of Immortality* is a revised and illustrated translation of his article in the *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande*, heft lxxxvi. (1888).

Borchardt has commented on the texts inscribed upon the earliest *ushabtis*. (*Zeits. f. A. s.* xxxii. 111.)

Lefébure continues his *Étude sur Abydos*, and Mr. Renouf has written a note on the *Bow in the Egyptian Sky*. (*Proc. S. B. A.* xvi.)

A statue of Set altered to Chnum, from the Posno collection, is described in the *Recueil de Travaux* (xvi. 167). At Hieropytna, in Cyprus, a relief has been discovered relating to the Isiac mysteries (*l. c.* 162).

A bronze figure of Isis of rude workmanship, and with rough silver-plating such as is known from Phœnicia, is published by Mr. W. L. Nash, from his own collection. (*Proc. S. B. A.* xvii.)

LITERATURE.

Prof. Petrie's *Egyptian Tales* (first series) is well illustrated by Mr. Tristram Ellis, and many of the notes appended to the translations are very instructive.

SCIENCE, ETC.

Loret has discussed at length a receipt at Edfû for the preparation of the "superfine liquid extract of styrax" for offering to the gods, with especial reference to the identification of the substances named in it. He has also identified the Egyptian name for bitumen. (*Rec. de trav.* xvi. 134, ff.)

M. Berthelot has analyzed a number of Egyptian objects in metal, more especially from the great find at Dahshûr. And MM. Loret and Florence

have studied the black and green eye-paints. (All in De Morgan's *Fouilles à Dahchour*.)

The present writer has brought his notes on the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus to an end. (*Proc. S. B. A. vol. xvi.*)

ANTIQUITIES.

M. de Morgan has followed up his extraordinary discoveries in the pyramids of Dahshûr by a most excellent publication of the results of last year. Forty photographic plates and nearly three hundred blocks in the text give views of the field of operations and the monuments, with plans and details, as well as the types of the jewellery and other antiquities discovered. M. de Morgan is rapidly making himself an ideal explorer, able and practical, brilliant in discovery, rapid and accurate in giving the record to the world. In this work he has had the assistance of MM. Legrain and Jéquier on the spot, and of MM. Berthelot, Loret and Fouquet in working out some special points. (De Morgan's *Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin, 1894.*)

The Burlington Fine Arts Club held an exhibition of Egyptian art this summer in London. Many English public and private collections were represented in it, and the Berlin Museum contributed a case of choice specimens.

The Hoffmann collection of Egyptian antiquities, sold this year in Paris, is recorded in a catalogue illustrated by forty-eight photographic plates of the more important objects.

A most valuable catalogue of the Antiquities in the Berlin Museum has been officially issued, and permanent photographs of many of the objects described in it can be obtained at a very moderate cost. A sumptuous volume of photogravures has likewise appeared.

An exquisite wooden statuette of a lady named Tui (about the XXIInd Dynasty), recently acquired by the Louvre, has been published by M. Bénédict, with three fine heliogravures. (*Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions, 1895.*)

Maspero's *Archæology* has reached a fourth and revised English edition.

The question of late restorations in the Pyramids has been again treated by Borchardt, who also refuses to accept an early date for the relief of Menkauhor. (*Zeits. f. A. s. xxxii. 88 ff. and 133.*)

Steindorff has found a verse of a song, with the name of its composer, and a sculpture with the name of the artist, both on one monument in the Leyden Museum. (*l. c. p. 123.*)

PERSONAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NEWS.

The death of Heinrich Brugsch has removed the most striking figure in Egyptology since Lepsius. His works are known all over the world, but the scholar is most deeply indebted to him for handy, clear and systematic publications in almost every branch of Egyptian literature. His loss will be felt now most keenly in demotic, a study which he created, and in which his knowledge was still almost unrivalled; and in hieroglyphic texts of the *basse-époque*, with all their wealth of geographical, calendrical and mythological information. At twenty years of age, in 1848, he published his first work on demotic papyri, and from that date onward his pen was busy, often under most untoward circumstances, writing huge dictionaries, a history, endless texts and translations, with occasionally a popular work, for nearly half a century. This continued almost to the day of his death, on the 9th of September, 1894.

Professor Erman, who is now a Vice-President of our Society, has been elected a member of the Berlin Academy. The speech made by him on the occasion of his reception is in the nature of a manifesto, and is well worthy of attention. It reveals at once, to those who know it not already, the secret of the success, unparalleled on the linguistic side, that attends the School of Egyptology at Berlin.

"... Some of our older fellow-specialists complain that we of the younger generation are depriving Egyptology of all its charm, and that out of a delightful science, abounding in startling discoveries, we have made a dry philological study, with strange phonetic laws and a wretched syntax.

There is doubtless truth in this complaint, but it should be urged against the natural growth of the science, and not against the personal influence of individuals on its development. The stage through which Egyptology is now passing is one from which no science escapes. It is a reaction against the enthusiasm and the rapid advance of its early days.

I can well understand that to outsiders it may seem as though we had only retrograded during later years. Where are the good old times when every text could be translated and understood? Alas! a better comprehension of the grammar has revealed on every side difficulties and impediments of which hitherto nothing had been suspected. Moreover, the number of ascertained words in the vocabulary is continually diminishing, while the host of the unknown increases; for we no longer arrive at the meaning by way of audacious etymologies and still more audacious guesses.

We have yet to travel for many years on the arduous path of empirical research before we can attain to an adequate dictionary. There is indeed an exceptional reward which beckons us on to the same goal, namely, that we shall then be

able to assign to Egyptian its place among the languages of Western Asia and of Africa. At present we do well to let this great question alone. As in the linguistic department of Egyptology, so is it in every other section of the subject. The Egyptian religion seemed intelligibly and systematically rounded off when each god was held to be the incarnation of some power of nature. Now we comprehend that we had better reserve our verdict on this matter until we know the facts and the history of the religion; and how far we are from knowing them is proved to us by every text. The texts are full of allusions to the deeds and fortunes of the gods, but only a very small number of these allusions are intelligible to us.

The time has gone by in which it was thought possible to furnish the Chronology of Egyptian history, and in which that history was supposed to be known, because the succession of the most powerful kings had been ascertained. To us the history of Egypt has become something altogether different. It comprises the history of her civilization, her art, and her administration; and we rejoice in the prospect that one day it may be possible in that land to trace the development of a nation throughout five thousand years by means of its own monuments and records. But we also know that the realization of this dream must be the work of many generations.

The so-called 'demotic' texts, which lead us out of Ancient Egypt into the Graeco-Roman period, were deciphered with the acumen of genius more than half a century ago by Heinrich Brugsch. But to-day these also appear to us in a new light as being full of unexpected difficulties and in apparent disagreement with both the older and the later forms of the language. In this important department we must not shrink from a revision of past work.

I will not further illustrate this theme; but the case is the same in every branch of Egyptology. In each the day of rapid results is at an end, and the monotonous time of special studies has begun.

Hence I would beg the Academy not to expect sensational discoveries from their new associate. I can only offer what 'labor improbus' brings to light, and that is *small* discoveries; yet in process of time they will lead us to those very ends which once seemed so nearly attainable to our predecessors."

From Mommsen's reply we quote the following:—

"Egyptian research has for many years been unrepresented in the Academy. All of us, and especially those to whom Graeco-Roman research brings home the importance of Egyptology, have ever lamented this, and now gladly seize the opportunity of worthily supplying the place of Lepsius.

The historical development of Egypt is part of the general history of civilization. If Egyptian culture seems strange to us who have grown up in the study of the perfected Graeco-Roman: if Egyptian representations of divinities, as compared with the works of Hellenic art, impress us somewhat as we are

impressed by seeing on her wedding day the shoes worn by the bride in her childhood: yet still we know, and daily learn more, how close was the connexion between the Egyptian race and classical antiquity, whether considered in regard to the beginnings of Art and Science, or the highly-developed political organization, or the literary life of Alexandria. In a certain sense, learning and political economy are as much Egyptian inventions as the pyramids and obelisks. It was in Egypt that the prototypes of our professors and our financiers were formed."

In connection with the scheme for the dam at Philae, last year the terror of archaeologists, but now much less formidable, Captain Lyons is about to survey the island and its monuments. This winter he intends to remove the *débris* round the temples and examine their foundations, and further to examine and make a detailed plan of the whole site. It is indeed fortunate that the task has been placed in the hands of an officer who combines the enthusiasm of an archaeologist with professional skill.

Mariette's museum at Bûlaq was in danger of being swept away by unusually high Niles; the present museum in the Gezireh palace at Gîzeh would burn like tinder. Now, however, we can congratulate ourselves that the question of the safety of that priceless collection is definitely settled. A new fire-proof building is to be erected to contain it, in Cairo itself, in the Kasr en Nil or European quarter of the town. Its situation on the river bank will permit of monuments from all parts of the country being unloaded direct from the barge or steamer into the museum; and, to the great convenience of travellers, it will be within a few minutes' walk of the principal hotels. Mr. Garstin informs us that the working plans are to be completed by the end of the current year: the work will then be advertised by public tender, so that construction may be commenced by the beginning of April. In this way the foundation should be completed before the flood and consequent rise of the sub-soil water in August, 1896. Mr. Garstin estimates that the building will take two years to complete, and the removal of the monuments from the present to the new museum will occupy the greater part of another year; at any rate, we may hope that the year 1900 will see the collection housed in safety. The design for the building is a very simple one, with good passages and high rooms lighted by top side-lights. It has been entrusted to one of the architects adjudged a prize at the late competition, and the same person will superintend the construction of the building.

B.—GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT.

THERE is no event of great importance to report for the year 1894-5 in the way of either discovery or publication of documents relating to Egypt during the periods of Greek and Roman rule. The exploration of Alexandria is, no doubt, a very weighty item of news relating to this subject, though unfortunately of an altogether negative and disappointing character; but that has been fully dealt with by Mr. Hogarth, and may therefore be passed over here.

The publications of literary papyri during the year are quite infinitesimal. Dr. Krebs has printed, from the *verso* of a papyrus in the Berlin Museum, on the *recto* of which is inscribed a lease of the second century, a fragment of a romance relating to the loves of Metiochus and Parthenope¹; and the present writer has published an epigram on the battle of Actium and the entry of Octavian into Egypt, from Papyrus CCLVI in the British Museum, written early in the first century.² The *verso* of the same papyrus contains portions of three orations, or, as appears more probable, owing to the complete absence of proper names, rhetorical exercises; but the surface of the papyrus has suffered so much damage that continuous decipherment of the text is impossible. A description of this papyrus is published in the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in 1888-1893*, to which allusion was made in my last report. The same *Catalogue* contains descriptions of a few other literary documents, in addition to the more important MSS. which have been mentioned in previous reports: a fragment of the *Iliad*, I. 129-150 (Pap. CCLXXII); several fragments, mostly very small, of an unknown epic (Pap. CCLXXIII); some portions of a romance (Pap. CCLXXIV); part of a treatise on ethics (Pap. CCLXXV); and a few other literary fragments in Papp. CLV, CLIX, CLXXXIV, CLXXXVI, CLXXXVII, CCVIII (c), and CCXXX. The latter is interesting as being probably the oldest extant fragment of the Greek Bible (a scrap of the Psalter, of about the end of the 3rd century); but after the harvests of previous years, this seems a scanty list for the acquisitions of five years (1891-1895).

Among non-literary papyri, the continued publication of the Berlin *Griechische Urkunden* holds the first place, though the rate of production has slightly diminished.³ Four parts have appeared during the year, containing 111 documents (Nos. 362-472), and forming the commencement of a second volume. In addition to these, the *indices* to the first

volume have appeared while this report was passing through the press; they are very careful and complete, and will be invaluable alike to the student of papyri and the historian of Roman Egypt. The newly published documents are of the same general character as their predecessors, being mostly of the second and third centuries, with a few of the late Byzantine period. Part I, by Prof. Wilcken, contains a revised reprint of the temple-accounts (A.D. 215) formerly published by him in *Hermes* (XX. 430 ff.) under the title of "Arsinoitische Tempelrechnungen," which preserve the names of many temple officials and ceremonies, besides various interesting economical data. The rest of this part is made up of Byzantine documents, one of which (No. 366) contains a reference to the Saracens. Part II, mainly by Dr. Krebs, contains, among other documents of the Roman period, a proclamation by the prefect, Marcus Sempronius Liberalis, in A.D. 154-5, requiring all who had left their homes during the recent distress, in order to avoid their share of public burdens (*λειτουργίας*), to return, and promising amnesty and protection if they obey the order within three months (No. 372). Among the other contents of the part are a mutilated list of the furniture of a temple (No. 387), an extract from the *ὑπομνηματισμοί*, or official day-book, of a certain Postumus, who appears to have been either prefect, *δικαιοδότης* or *ἐπιστρατηγός* (No. 388), and several documents bearing on the official hierarchy and economic organization of Roman Egypt. A few Byzantine documents are added by Wilcken. Part III, by Dr. Viereck, contains a census-list of the second century (No. 406), which needs comparison with the larger lists in the British Museum; a receipt for rent, dated in the consulship of Constantine and Licinius Licinianus (A.D. 307), an early example of the system of dating by consuls instead of by the regnal year of the emperor (No. 408); a census-return (*κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφὴ*) for the census of A.D. 159-60 (No. 410); a father's letter to his son, begging him to give up τὰ μετέωρα (presumably = "high-flying speculations") and attend to practical matters; a list of village officials connected with the corn supply (No. 425); and various other documents, mostly of an official character. In Part IV, which is mainly by Krebs, but partly by Viereck, the chief items of interest are a set of receipts given by a husbandman to the *σιτολόγοι* (corn collectors) for advances of seed-corn (Nos. 438-443); a reference to the prefect Lucius Mun[atius Felix], which seems to show that the prefects mentioned in CIG, 4863 (Lucius), Justin *Apol.* 29 (Felix), and Brit. Mus. Pap. CCCLVIII (Munatius Felix) are one and the same person; a papyrus dated A.D. 222-3, in which (as in Brit. Mus. Pap. CCCLIII) Severus

Alexander is associated with Elagabalus as emperor; and some references to soldiers of various corps in the Roman army of occupation (Nos. 455, 462). Notices of several of the parts in Vol. I. have been given by Krebs⁴ and Gradenwitz,⁵ indicating the chief points of interest in this valuable series of publications.

Articles dealing with the results to be derived from these and other papyri are not so numerous as in the preceding year, but include a few of some importance. Following up Wilcken's article on the *ὑπομνηματισμοί*, mentioned in my last report, Krebs has reprinted, from No. 347 of the Berlin publication, two extracts from the *ὑπομνηματισμοί* of the Roman high-priest (*ἀρχιερεὺς*), the supreme ecclesiastical authority in Egypt, showing that the children (probably of the priests only) were brought to him to receive his authorization, granted only after he had satisfied himself that they were free from blemish, before they were admitted to the rite of circumcision.⁶ Dr. Viereck has made a valuable contribution to the economical history of Roman Egypt by a study of the numerous receipts contained in the Berlin collection, for grants of seed-corn made by the *σιτολόγοι* of the village to the cultivators of the Crown lands.⁷ The regular allowance seems to have been an artaba of corn for an aroura of land; and the descriptions of the properties throw some light on the classification and nomenclature of land in the Faiyum, and on the conditions of its cultivation. The subject needs to be completed by an examination of the certificates given by the *σιτολόγοι* of the amounts of corn received by them in return after the harvest, and collected in the village granary, presumably with the two-fold purpose of supplying seed for the following year, and of contributing the village's proper quota of the corn exported annually to Rome. Other studies of Berlin papyri have been published by P. Collinet,⁸ on Berl. Pap. 326 (already studied by Mommsen, see No. 13 in last year's report, and by V. Scialoja in the *Bull. dell' istituto di diritto romano*, 1894, p. 1), and by R. Dareste⁹ on Berl. Pap. 361—the record, from the *ὑπομνηματισμοί* of the strategus, of a suit relating to a disputed will. The two most important articles dealing with the papyrus-literature during the past year are, however, those in which Prof. Wilcken reviews the British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Papyri*¹⁰ and the *Flinders Petrie Papyri*.¹¹ Prof. Wilcken has minutely studied the texts in these volumes, with the aid of the published facsimiles, and his new readings and suggestions deserve the fullest attention. These articles are, in fact, most useful supplements to the volumes in question. Mons. M. Berthelot has also published an article summarizing a few points in connection with the magical papyri in the British Museum *Catalogue*.

Prof. Mahaffy has published an interesting Ptolemaic papyrus, dated in the seventh year, apparently of Ptolemy Euergetes [B.C. 240], and containing a declaration for purposes of taxation, enumerating the writer's family, slaves, and property in corn and other produce.¹³ The same article contains copies of some inscriptions of the reigns of Ptolemy Philopator and Ptolemy Alexander, together with a number of inscriptions from Nubia, a few of which are new, while the rest have already been published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*. For these last some corrected readings are given.

Prof. Nicole has printed the text of another papyrus in his own collection, a petition, dated A.D. 207, and addressed to a *ἐκατοντάρχης* (= centurion) by some individuals who had farmed the contract for some corn-land.¹⁴ It is interesting as supplying the name of the prefect, Subatianus Aquila, and thereby justifying the reading of the inscription in CIL III. 75, where *sub Subatiano* has been generally altered to *sub Atiano*. A papyrus published last year by Prof. Nicole in the *Revue Archéologique* (see No. 22 in last year's report) has been reproduced and studied afresh by H. Erman.¹⁵

An article by Prof. Wilcken¹⁶ calls attention to two papyri in which the date is given by the years *τῆς Καίσαρος κρατήσεως* ("of Cæsar's rule"), which he takes to indicate an attempt to use the date of Augustus' capture of Egypt as the basis for an era. That date was the 1st of August, B.C. 30; but since the Egyptian year was reckoned from the 29th of August, it was more convenient to make the era begin from the latter date; so that during the reign of Augustus the reckoning by this era and that by his regnal years were identical. There are traces, on coins, of the era-dating having been used occasionally in the early years of Tiberius, but there is also evidence, on papyri, of dates by the regnal years of Tiberius quite at the beginning of his reign; so that it is clear that the use of the era *τῆς Καίσαρος κρατήσεως*, which was never generally adopted even in Augustus' own reign, lapsed altogether in that of his successor. Other examples of it, during the reign of Augustus, in addition to those quoted by Wilcken, occur in some papyri now in the Rainer collection at Vienna.

The following articles dealing with the papyrus literature in general I have not yet been able to see: a general survey of the papyri relating to Roman Egypt, by H. Blümner¹⁷; and a review of the first volume of the Berlin publication, giving a classified summary of its contents, by R. Daresté.¹⁸

The appearance, during the past year, of the final part of the

Palæographical Society's publications, suggests a reference to the papyri of which texts and facsimiles have been issued in the course of the series now completed.¹⁹ These include, of literary papyri, specimens of the Petrie Plato (third century B.C.), a dialectical treatise at Paris (second century B.C.), and the British Museum Odyssey (*circ.* A.D. 1) and Aristotle (*circ.* A.D. 100); of non-literary papyri, the Imprecation of Artemisia (at Vienna, third or fourth century B.C.), the British Museum Demotic Pap. 10463 (Greek docket), and Greek Papp. XXII., XXIV., the Paris Pap. 15, and Brit. Mus. Papp. CCLXXVI *b*, CLXXVII, CXXXIX, CXL, CXXXI *recto*, CXLI, CXLII, CXLIII, CXCI, CCCIII, CLXXVIII, CCCXXXII, CCCXLVII, CCCLII, CLXXX, CCXIV, CCXXXII, CCXXXIV, CCXXXVI, CXIII (4) *a b*, CXIII (5) *c*, CXIII (6) *a*, a papyrus in private hands, and Brit. Mus. CXIII (6) *b*. The dates of these documents are, respectively, B.C. 211-210, 163, 161, 120-119; A.D. 15, 40-41, 48, 69-79, 78-79, 88, 93, 95, 97, 102-117, 142, 145, 166, 201, 221, 228, 270-275, *circ.* 350 (Nos. CCXXXII, CCXXXIV, and CCXXXVI), 498, 542, 595, 600, *circ.* 600, 608, and 633. From this list it will be seen that the Palæographical Society's series of precisely dated documents covers the whole range of papyrus-palæography from the earliest to the latest times, with the exception of the inevitable gaps in the first century B.C. and the fifth century after Christ, for which there are practically no extant examples.

So much for publications. A few other items of news may be of interest. Prof. Wilcken's *Corpus* of Ostraka, Prof. Mahaffy's history of Ptolemaic Egypt, and Mr. Grenfell's edition of the great Ptolemaic Revenue Papyrus are all promised for the present autumn. Mr. Grenfell acquired last winter in Egypt a considerable number of documents of the Ptolemaic period, many of them fragmentary, which he will also publish shortly. The British Museum has acquired during the past year about 160 papyri, the greater number of them being due to the distribution of the Petrie papyri which has just taken place.

This distribution relates to the famous papyri discovered by Prof. Petrie in the mummy-cartonnages of Gurob, and edited by Prof. Mahaffy. Their owners were Mr. Martyn Kennard and Mr. Jesse Haworth; and by the great generosity of these gentlemen they have now been divided between the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Since a knowledge of the permanent home of these valuable documents is a matter of interest to the students of the papyrus-literature, I here give the results of the apportionment

(using the numbers assigned by Prof. Mahaffy), by permission of Mr. Grenfell, to whom the task of distribution was committed.

PART I.

I-X. British Museum.	XVII. British Museum.
XI. Dublin.	XVIII. Dublin.
XII. British Museum.	XIX-XXVI. British Museum.
XIII. Oxford.	XXVII, XXVIII. Oxford.
XIV. Dublin.	XXIX. Dublin.
XV, XVI. Oxford.	XXX. British Museum.

PART II.

I-IV. 10. British Museum.	XXXI. Oxford.
IV. 11. Dublin.	XXXII-XXXVI. British Museum.
IV. 12-VI. British Museum.	XXXVI. 2. Oxford.
VII, VIII. Oxford.	XXXVII. British Museum.
IX. British Museum.	XXXVIII. a. Dublin.
X. 1. Dublin.	XXXVIII. b. Oxford.
X. 2. British Museum.	XXXVIII. c. British Museum.
XI. Dublin.	XXXIX. a, b. Oxford.
XII. 1-3. British Museum.	XXXIX. c. British Museum.
XII. 4. Oxford.	XXXIX. d. Oxford.
XIII. British Museum.	XXXIX. e-h. British Museum.
XIV. Oxford.	XXXIX. i. Oxford.
XV-XIX. British Museum.	XL. a. British Museum.
XX. Oxford.	XL. b. Dublin.
XXI. British Museum.	XLJ, XLII. British Museum.
XXII-XXIII. 3. Oxford.	XLIII. Oxford.
XXIII. 4. Dublin.	XLIV. British Museum.
XXIV. Oxford.	XLV. Dublin.
XXV. British Museum.	XLVI. Oxford.
XXVI, XXVII. Oxford.	XLVII-XLIX. a. British Museum.
XXVIII. British Museum.	XLIX. b. Oxford.
XXIX-XXX. e. Oxford.	XLIX. c-f. British Museum.
XXX. f. Dublin.	L. Oxford.

Many of the numbers above given include several different documents; so a summary of the results of the distribution may be of interest. Out of 197 documents, great and small, the British Museum receives 128, the Bodleian 55, and Dublin 14. The Museum obtains the priceless *Phædo* and *Antiope* papyri, the Homer fragment, and nearly all the unknown literary scraps, together with a large number of the non-literary documents. Oxford has the *Laches* MS. and a good collection of business papers; Dublin, in addition to the honour of the first publication, a small but interesting group of documents. The unpublished fragments of the Petrie collection, with a few exceptions,

remain for the present in Mr. Grenfell's hands, and will be distributed later. The assignment of these precious manuscripts to their final homes recalls the great year of their first publication, 1891; and I cannot end my report more fitly than with the hope that 1896 may rival even that *annus mirabilis* in the quantity and interest of its discoveries.

FREDERIC G. KENYON.

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- ⁴ *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, May, 1894.
- ⁵ *Ib.*, 26 May and 8 Dec., 1894.
- ⁶ *Aus dem Tagebuch des römischen Oberpriesters von Ägypten*, in *Philologus*, liiii., 577-587 (1894).
- ⁷ *Quittungen aus dem Dorfe Karanis über Lieferung von Saatkorn*, in *Hermes*, xxx., 107-123 (1895).
- ⁸ *Testament de Gaius Longinus Castor* (189 ap. J.-C.), in *Nouvelle Revue Historique*, 1894, pp. 573-582.
- ⁹ *Procès-Verbal d'une instance en ouverture de testament* (26 mai, 184 ap. J.-C.), *ib.*, 583-588.
- ¹⁰ *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, in *Göttingischer Gelehrter Anzeiger*, 1894, pp. 716-749.
- ¹¹ *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Bd. I, II., *ib.*, 1895, pp. 130-166.
- ¹² *Les Papyrus du British Museum*, in *Journal des Savants*, April, 1894.
- ¹³ In the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Jan.-Jul., 1894, p. 145.
- ¹⁴ *Requête adressée à un Centurion par des fermiers Égyptiens*, in *Revue Archéologique*, July-Aug., 1894, p. 34.
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- ¹⁶ *Eine alexandrinische Aera Octavians*, in *Hermes*, xxx. 151-153 (1895).
- ¹⁷ *Aus dem Verwaltungswesen, dem Rechts- und Familienleben Ägyptens in der Kaiserzeit*, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, December, 1894.
- ¹⁸ *Les Papyrus Gréco-Égyptiens du musée de Berlin*, in *Nouvelle Revue Historique*, Nov.-Dec., 1894.
- ¹⁹ *Palaeographical Society*, Series II., parts 1-10, edited by E. A. Bond, E. Maunde Thompson, and G. F. Warner (1884-1893).

C.—COPTIC STUDIES.

DURING the past twelve months singularly few publications relating to Christian Egypt have appeared. The French Mission at Cairo seems to be devoting its energies chiefly to the monuments of earlier epochs. Signor Rossi has declared that the Turin papyri have been finally exhausted by the interesting texts which he gave us last year, and official duties at the Propaganda still delay the longed-for continuation of Msgr. Ciasca's *Fragmenta*. Even M. Amélineau, hitherto by far the most active editor in the field, has refrained from printing the quarto volume that we had grown used to expect.

Indeed, there seem to be only three books to call, this year, for our attention. But the importance of one at any rate of them is a compensation for such apparent inactivity. Professor Krall, whose competence to take advantage of his unique opportunities has been amply demonstrated in his contributions to the *Mittheilungen* of the great Rainer collection, has at length brought out an instalment of the long-promised *Corpus*.¹ This volume contains all those "legal" documents—to use the most comprehensive term—in which the Vienna collection is so extraordinarily rich. Indeed, no other European museum—with the possible exception of the Louvre, where a considerable number of similar papyri were probably acquired within recent times—can at all compare its treasures in this particular with those in Vienna. Professor Krall reckons in all 4000 Coptic documents, of which about 220 are classed as legal, and published here. These consist of deeds of sale, acknowledgments of debt, receipts for payment, guarantees, leases, loans, statements of wages, deeds of gift, agreements as to choice of arbitrators, as well as various lists of places, and proper names, accounts, and so forth. Even the numerous unidentifiable fragments are not omitted, and their inclusion is well justified by the number of interesting points which can be collected from a careful study of them.

Accustomed as we are to look to the monasteries of 'Abd al-Kurnah for all information on the legal circumstances of Coptic life, this unexpected crowd of fresh material is as surprising as it is welcome. Professor Krall has been frequently able to illustrate his new documents by parallel passages from the published Jême papyri. None, of course, of

¹ *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, vol. ii. *Koptische Texte* herausgegeben von J. Krall; I. Band—Rechtsurkunden. Wien, 1895.

the former can be compared for length to even the shorter of these latter texts; instead of extending to 200 lines, no continuous text in the new publication has more than 40. In collections such as that in Professor Krall's hands, the task of assigning each piece to its exact dialect is a very difficult one. We are given a table at the end of the volume, from which we can judge of the decisions to which the editor has come, and we see that the division has been made almost equally, only a small majority of the texts being classed as Sa'idic. In one fragment indeed (*no. cxvi.*) we see an example of what may almost be regarded as a new dialect; though a recollection of the amazing laxity in the orthography of almost all Middle-Egyptian texts must make us hesitate to assign too much weight to the evidence of a single mutilated papyrus. We can but look forward eagerly to the succeeding volumes of the *Corpus*, which are to give us the strictly literary texts, and, before all, that priceless Akhmimic MS. of the Lesser Prophets, of which a specimen facsimile has already appeared in the Rainer *Führer*.

The second work which we have to notice is due to a native of Egypt. Claudius Johannes Labib, professor in the college of the Coptic clergy at Cairo, has published two small volumes of a Coptic Grammar, for the use of his compatriots, and written, of course, in Arabic, under the patronage of the reigning Patriarch, Cyrill the Fifth.¹ The author, in his preface, states that he "has examined the books upon this language composed by Europeans, in order to find a new method, and a succinct and profitable course which might simplify the difficulties" hitherto encountered in teaching. The authorities referred to range from Young and Champollion to Stern, and the constant citations show that their works have been profitably studied. Nor have the older grammarians, such as Ibn 'Assâl, Ibn Zahîri (as he is here always called), and Ibn Kâtib Kaişar, been neglected. Professor Labib's work is a considerable advance upon the somewhat unmethodical primer of his predecessor, Barsûm Effendi Râhib, from whom he nevertheless quotes here and there. Indeed, this is, so far as I know, the first attempt that has been made in Egypt to teach native students their ancient language upon Western methods, and it ranks, therefore, beside the hieroglyphic publications of Kamâl Effendi. The grammar is arranged upon the plan familiar to us, and proceeds, from chapters upon the article, substantive and pronoun, to the conjugation of verbs and

¹ *Kitâb ad-durûs an-nahwiyyah fy ma'rifat al-luġat al-Ḳubtiyyah al-Miṣriyyah &c.* Bi-Miṣr al-Ḳâhirah, A.M. 1610 (= A.D. 1894).

the enumeration of adverbs and other particles. The actual requirements of the priesthood, and the example of preceding writers have secured for the Bohairic (*i.e.* the Alexandrine) dialect almost a monopoly of the illustrative examples, although the author professes to draw also upon the Saïdic and Fayyûmic. In the second volume, the rules are interspersed with reading lessons taken from Budge's "Isaak of Tiphre." A third part, dealing with the syntax, is presumably to follow later on.

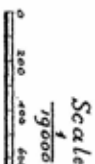
The work which it remains to speak of has only an indirect claim to a notice here. Mr. Evetts has edited, for the Oxford series of *Anecdota*, the "Tarikh ash-shaikh Abî Şâlih," and given a translation under the title of "The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt," while Mr. A. J. Butler, probably the best living authority on the subject, has supplemented the translation with exhaustive notes.¹ The references so often made to Abu Şelah (as he used to be called) by Quatremère, were of themselves sufficient to make all those interested in mediæval Egypt desirous of seeing the text published. Now that we have before us this excellent edition, expectations may perhaps be somewhat disappointed; for neither are the available MSS. complete, nor, if they were, would they give us more than a mediocre abridgment of the original composition. Internal evidence points to the opening years of the XIIIth century as the date of Abu Şâlih's work, so that it was possible for him to make use of the chronicles of Severus of Eshmûnain and others who had recorded the history of the Christians and their Patriarchs. But when will an editor be found for Severus himself? MSS. of his work and of that of his continuators are to be found in several libraries; and yet, since Renaudot's time, no one has thought it worth while to print the text which that scholar made the basis of his history. A very welcome appendix to Mr. Evetts's edition is the fresh translation of the corresponding portions of Makrîzî's "Khitat," of which work a full translation is now in course of publication by M. Bouriant.

W. E. CRUM.

P.S.—M. Amélineau has not disappointed us. Since this notice was sent to press, announcements have appeared of two works by him; (1) a volume of miscellaneous patristic texts (*Méms. de la Miss. au Caire*) and (2) a notice of certain biblical MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris; Klincksieck).

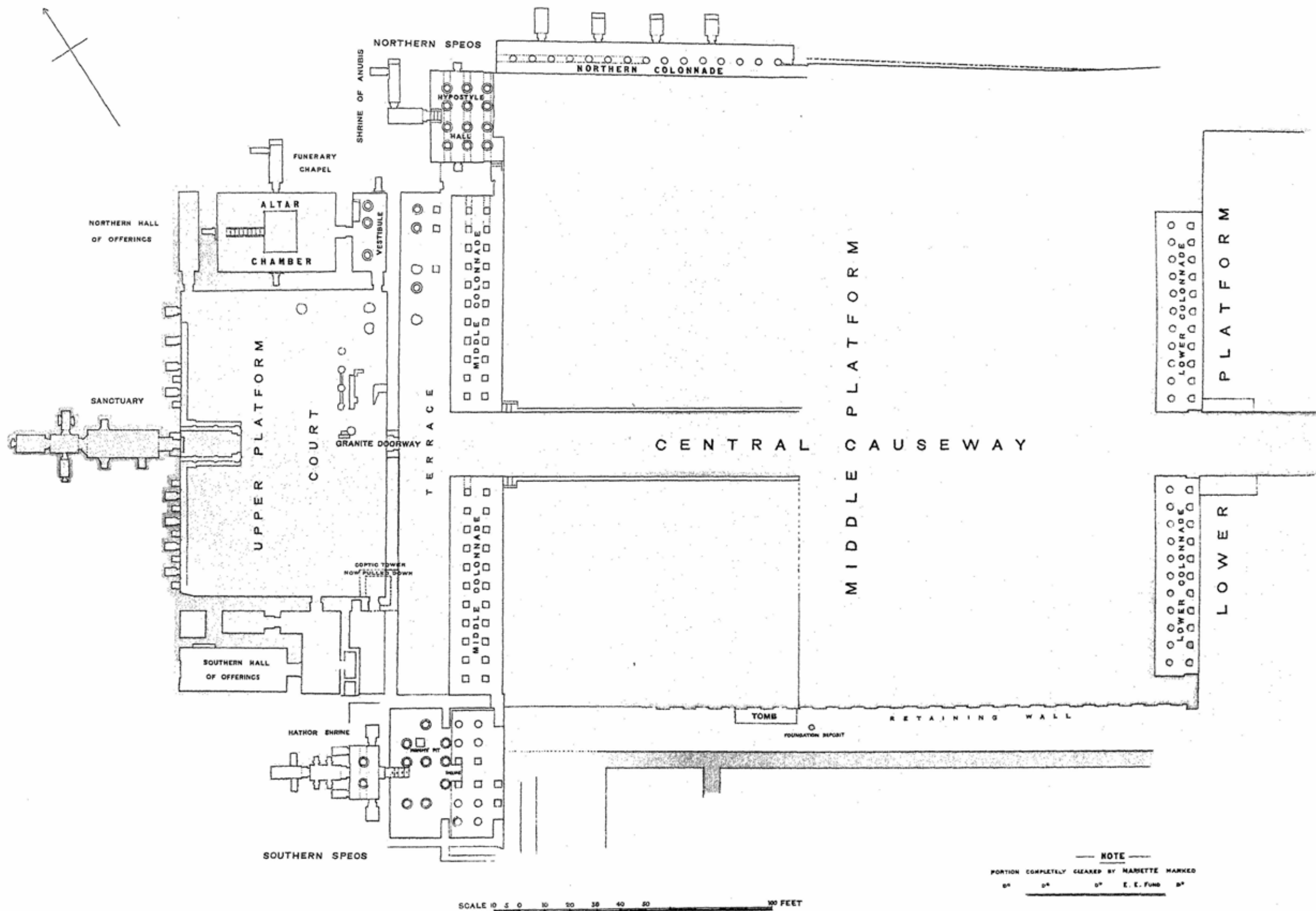
¹ *Anecdota Oxoniensia; The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, by B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler. Oxford, 1895.

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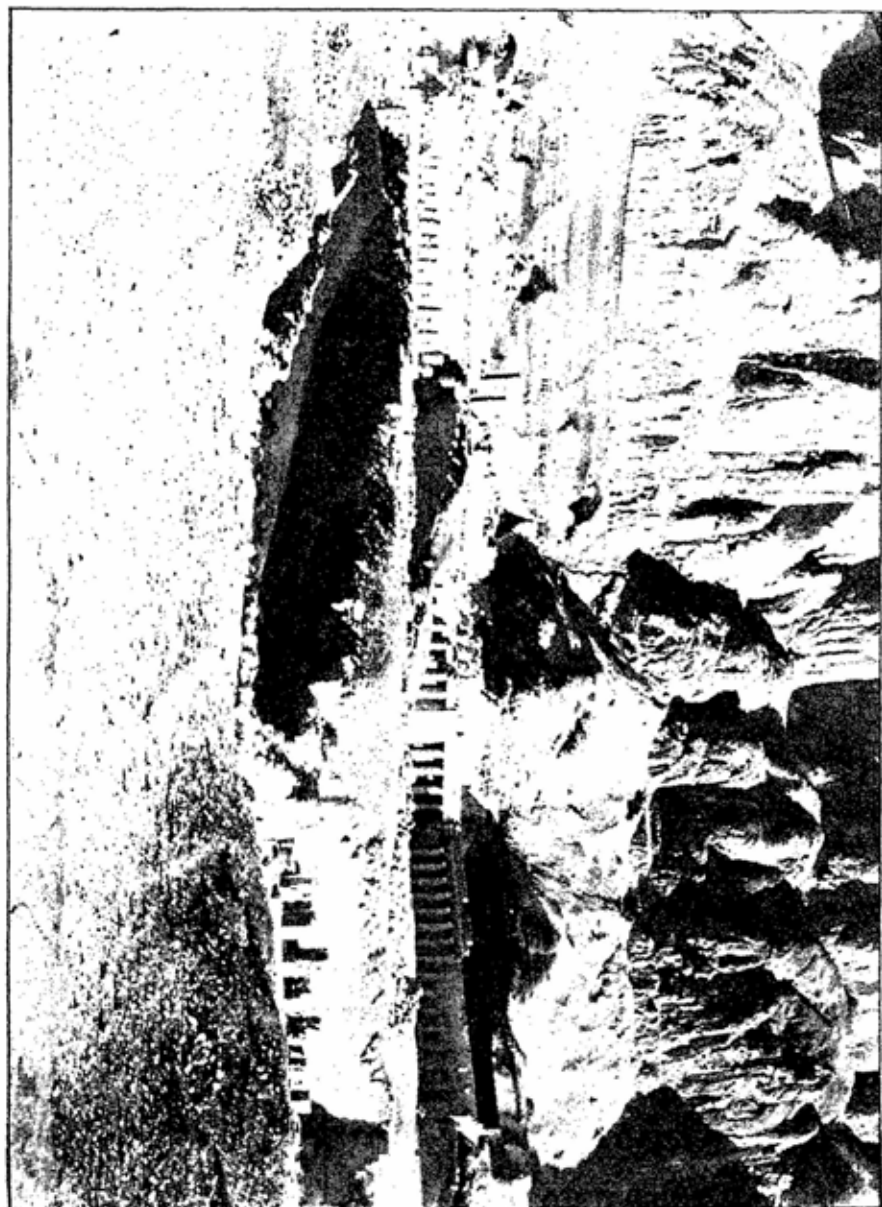
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PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF DEIR EL BAHARI.

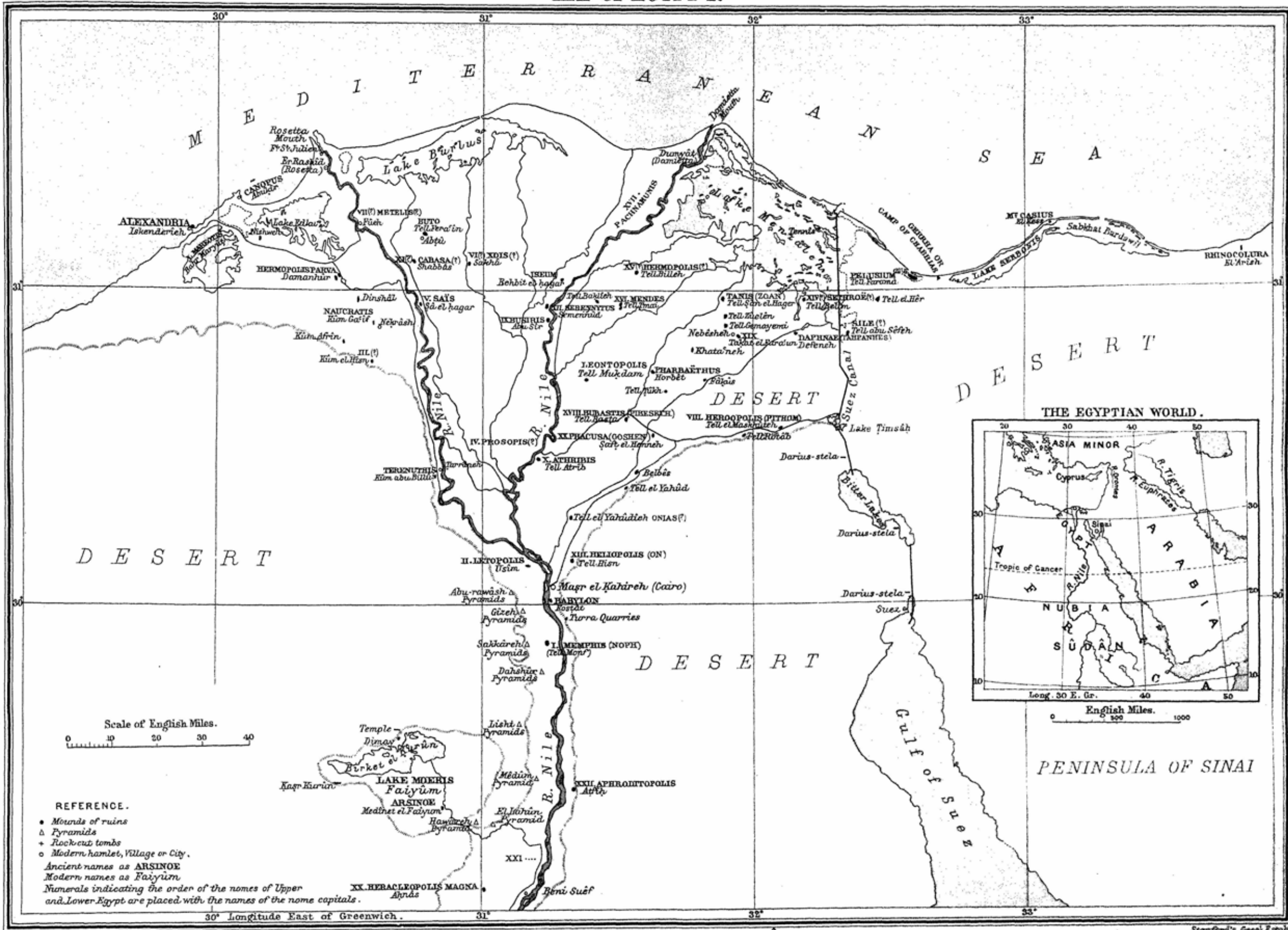


TEMPLE OF DEIR EL BAHARI. GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH EAST.



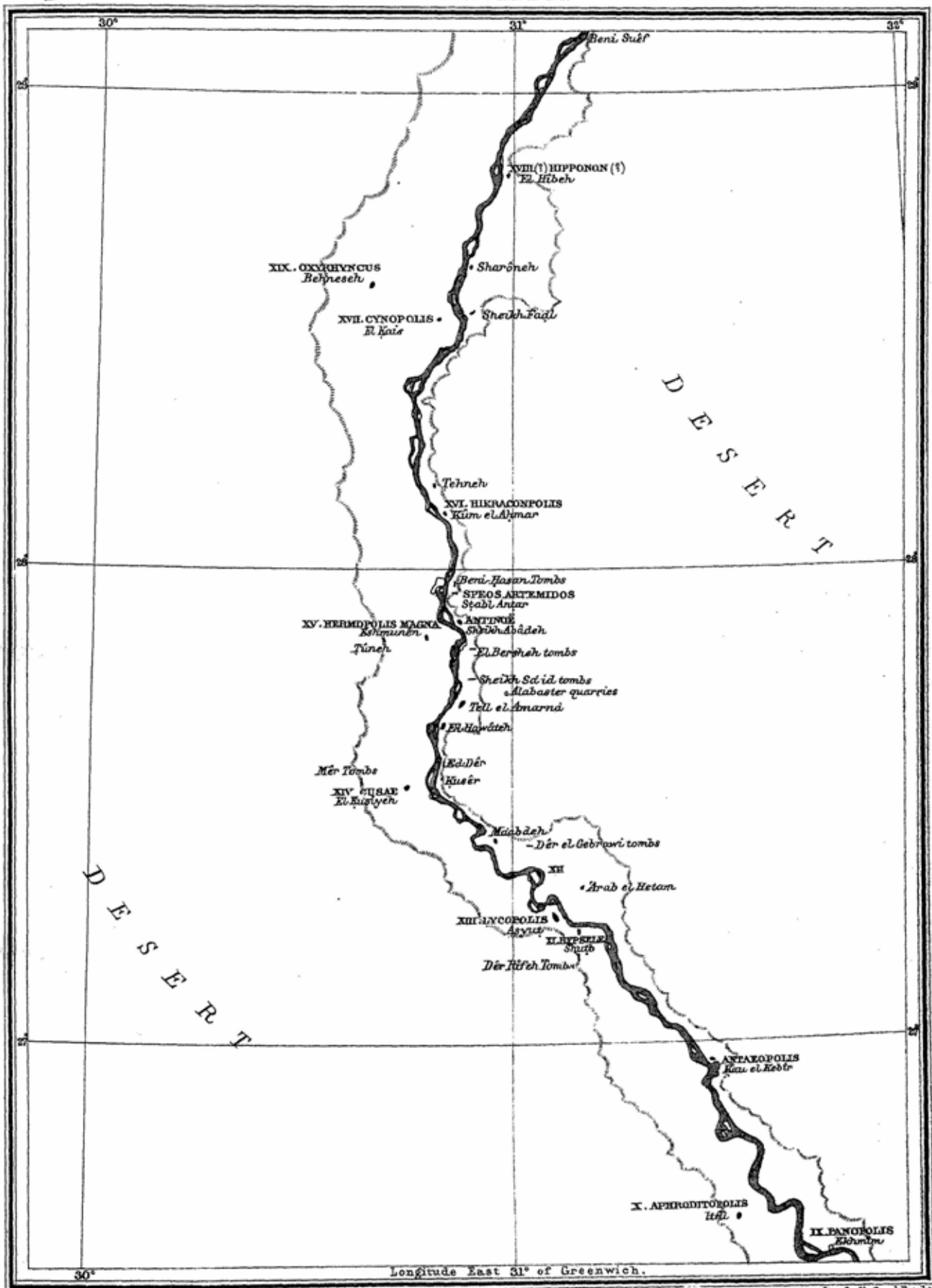
COPTIC MUMMIES FROM DEIR EL BAHARI.

MAP OF EGYPT I.



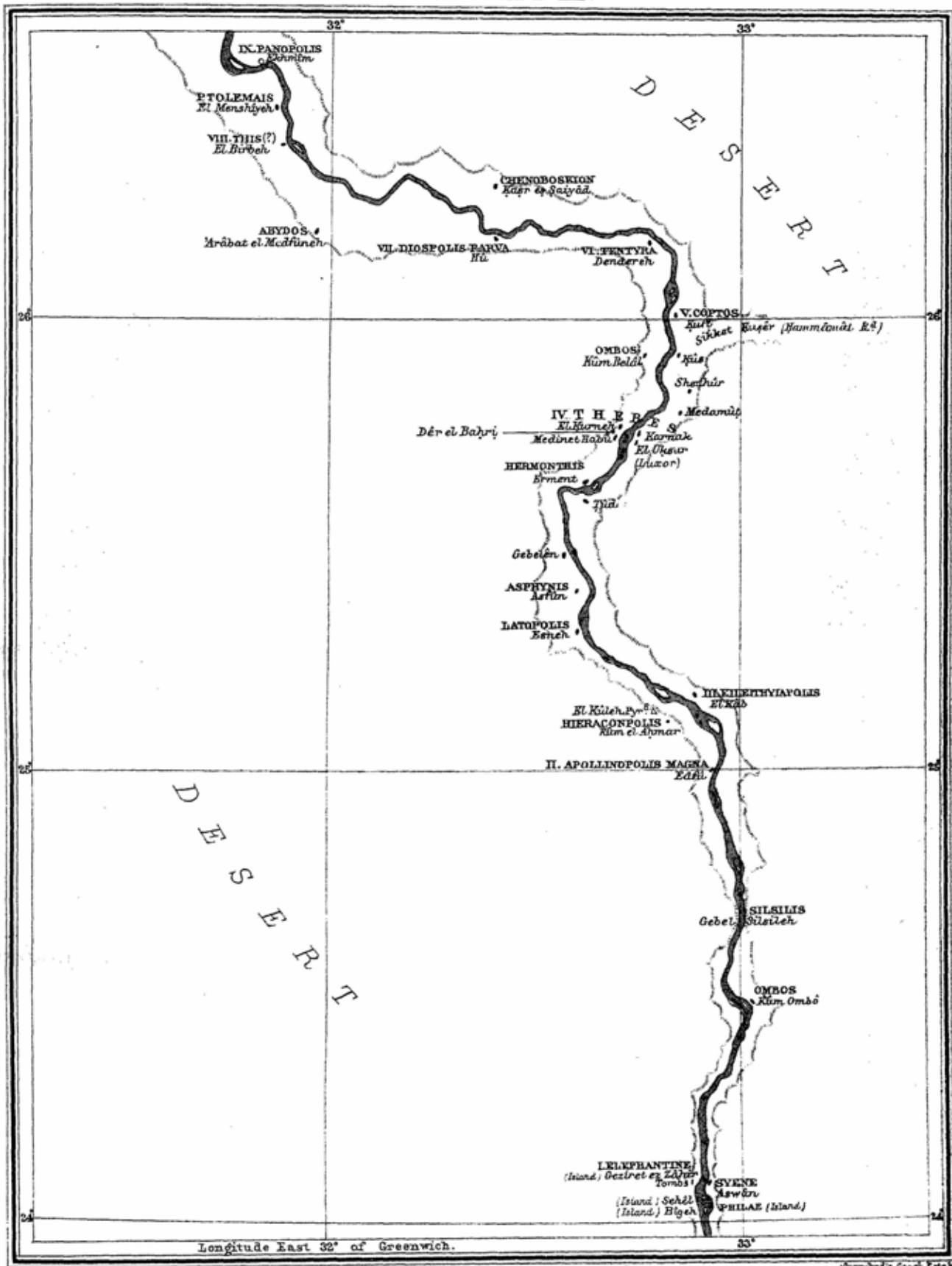
FROM THE DELTA TO BENI SUÉF.

MAP OF EGYPT II.



FROM BENI SUÊF TO EKHÎM.

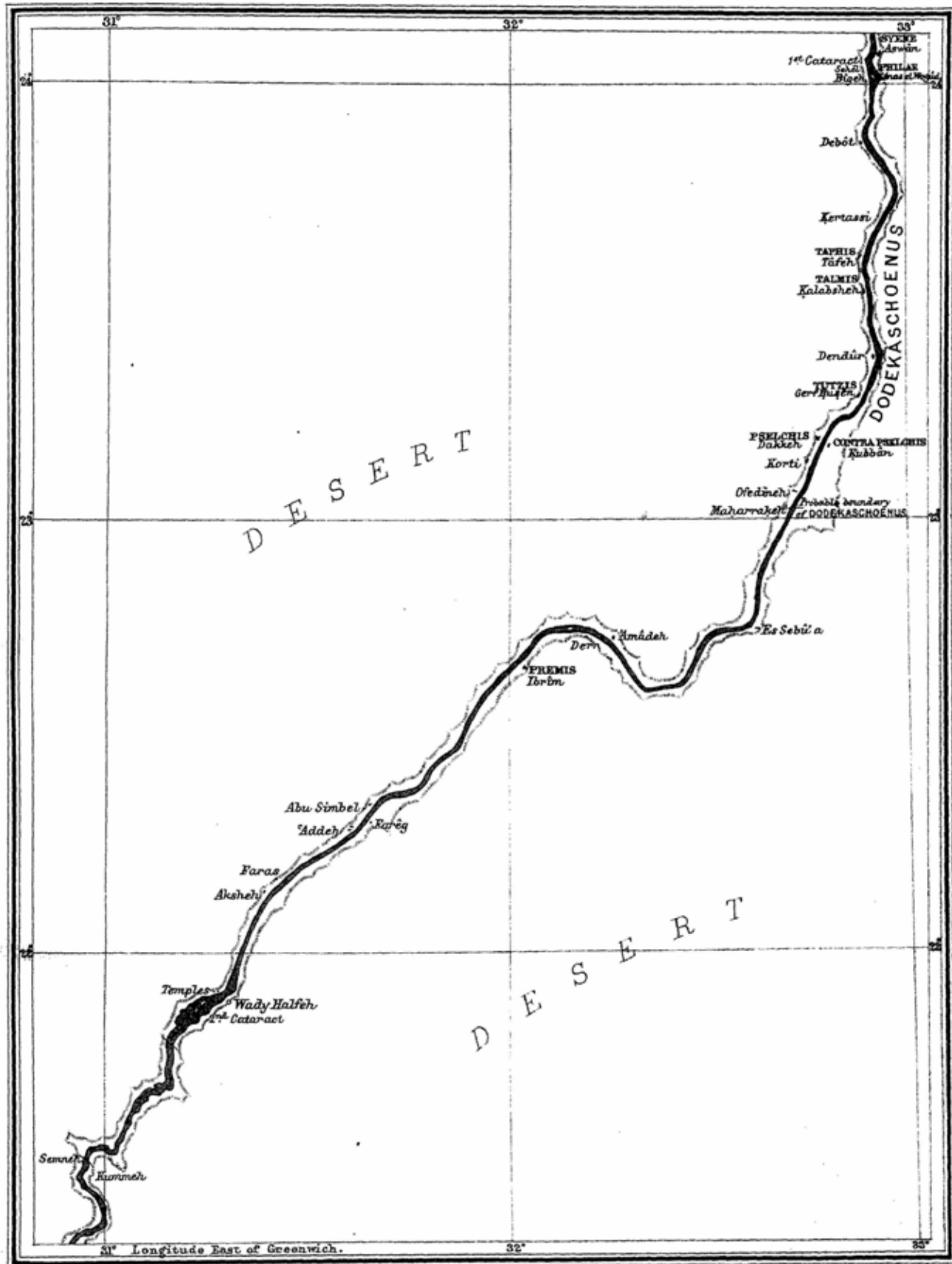
MAP OF EGYPT III.



FROM EKHMIM TO ASWAN.

Standard's Geogr. Estate

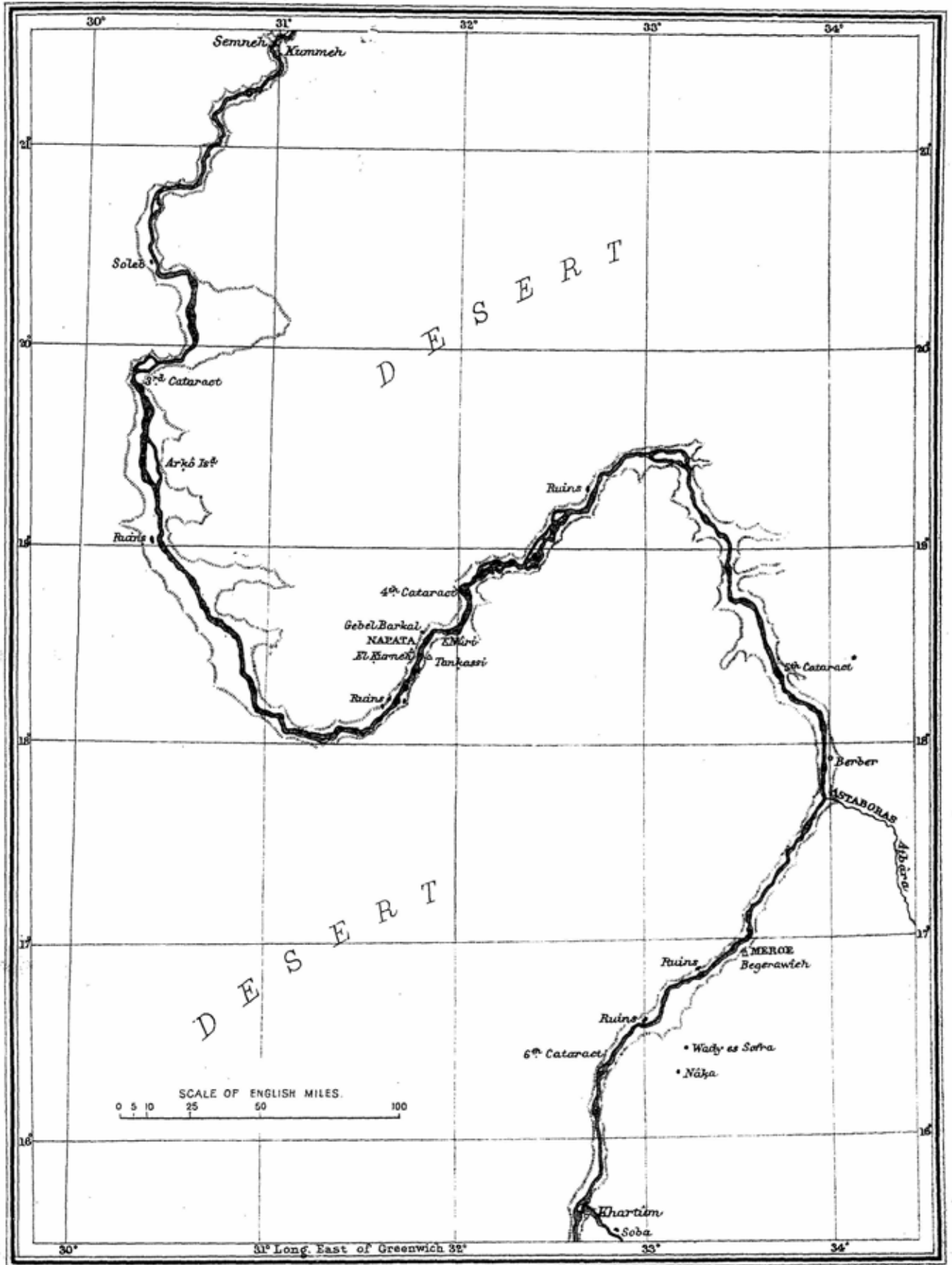
MAP OF EGYPT IV.



FROM ASWAN TO SEMNEH.

Stanford's Geog. Estab.

MAP OF EGYPT V.

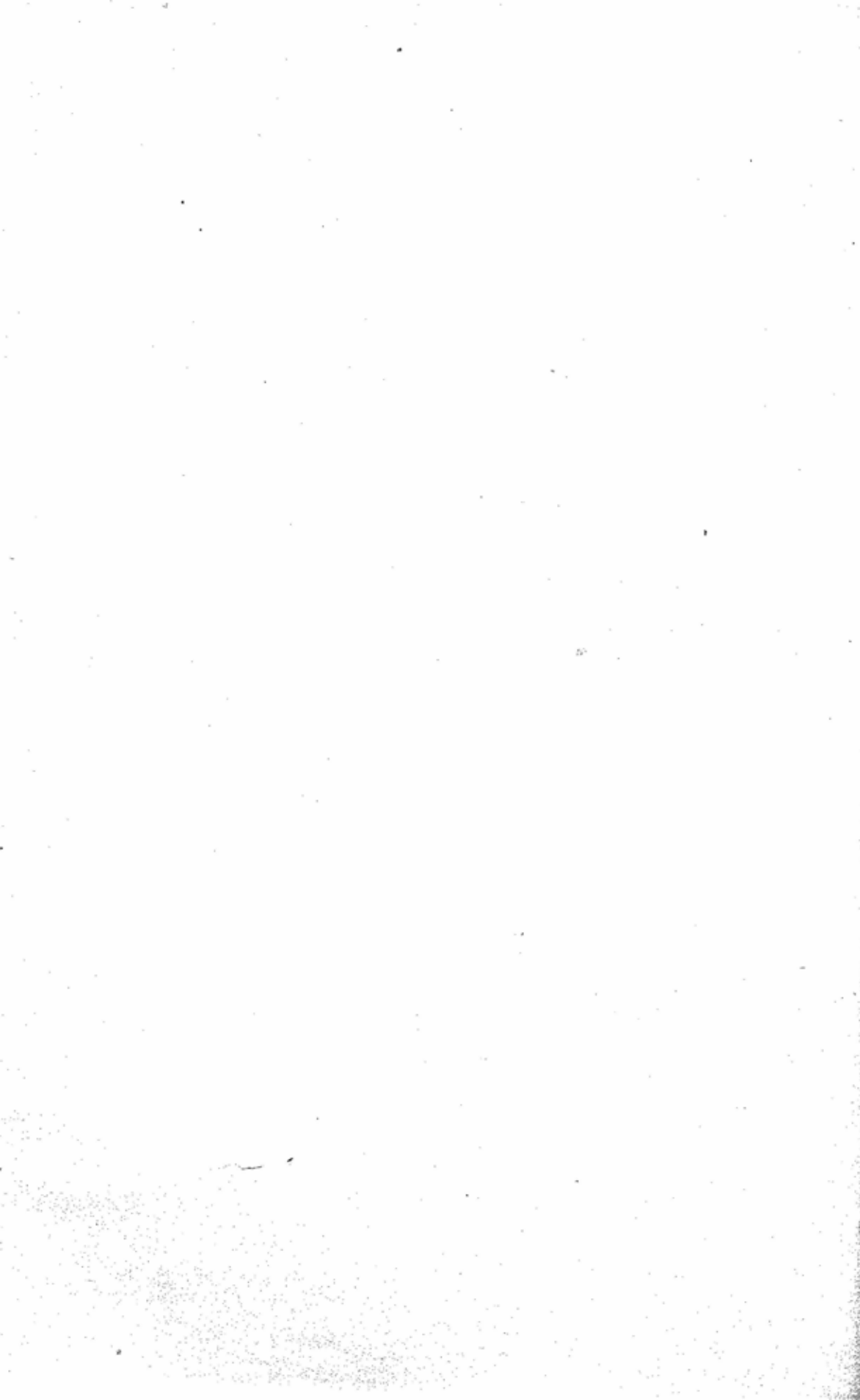


FROM SEMNEH TO KHARTUM

Standard's Geogr. Encl.



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